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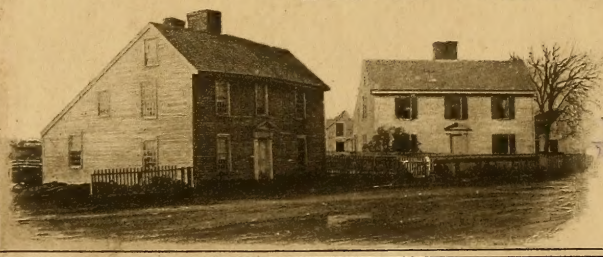

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BISHOP BURNET's

HISTORY

OF

His own Time.

FROM THE

RESTORATION of King CHARLES II.

TO THE

CONCLUSION of the TREATY of PEACE at UTRECHT, in the Reign of Queen ANNE.

To which is prefixed,

A SUMMARY RECAPITULATION of Affairs in Church and State, from King JAMES I. to the RESTORATION in the Year 1660.

Together with

The AUTHOR's LIFE, by the EDITOR. And some EXPLANATORY NOTES. The whole revised and corrected by him.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK V.

Of the reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

I NOW begin, on the first day of May, 1705, to prosecute this Work; and have before me a reign, that drew upon it an universal expectation of great things to follow, from such auspicious beginnings; and from so general a joy as was spread over these Nations, and all the neighbouring Kingdoms and States; of whom, some had apprehended a general depression, if not the total ruin of the Protestant religion: And all of them saw such a progress made by the French in the design of enslaving the rest of Europe, that the check which the Revolution in England seemed to promise, put a new life in those, who before were sunk in despair. 1689. The hopes of the new reign.

1689. It seemed to be a double-bottomed Monarchy, where there were two Joint-Sovereigns; but those who knew the Queen's temper and principles, had no apprehensions of divided Counsels, or of a distracted Government.

The effects of the King's ill health.

That which gave the most melancholy prospect, was the ill state of the King's health, whose stay so long at St. James's without exercise or hunting, which was so much used by him that it was become necessary, had brought him under such a weakness, as was like to have very ill effects: And the face he forced himself to set upon it, that it might not appear too much, made an impression on his temper. He was apt to be peevish: It put him under a necessity of being much in his closet, and of being silent and reserved; which, agreeing so well with his natural disposition, made him go off from what all his friends had advised, and he had promised them he would set about, of being more visible, open, and communicative. The Nation had been so much accustomed to this, in the two former reigns, that many studied to perswade him, it would be necessary for his affairs to change his way, that he might be more accessible, and freer in his discourse. He seemed resolved on it: But he said, his ill health made it impossible for him to execute it: And so he went on in his former way, or rather he grew more retired, and was not easily come at, nor spoke to. And in a very few days, after he was set on the Throne, he went out to Hampton-Court: And from that palace he came into Town only on Council days. So that the face of a Court, and the rendezvous, usual in the publick rooms, was now quite broke. This gave an early and general disgust. The gaiety and the diversions of a Court disappeared. And, tho' the Queen set herself to make up, what was wanting in the King, by a great vivacity and chearfulness; yet when it appeared that she meddled not in business, so that few found their account in making

making their court to her, tho' ſhe gave a wonderful content to all that came near her, yet few came. 1689.

The King found the air of Hampton-Court agreed ſo well with him, that he reſolved to live the greateſt part of the year there. But that palace was ſo very old built, and ſo irregular, that a deſign was formed of raiſing new buildings there, for the King and the Queen's Apartments. This ſhewed a reſolution to live at a diſtance from London: And the entring ſo ſoon on ſo expenſive a building, afforded matter of cenſure to thoſe, who were diſpoſed enough to entertain it. And this ſpread a univerſal diſcontent in the City of London. And theſe ſmall and almoſt indiſcernable beginnings and ſeeds of ill humour, have ever ſince gone on in a very viſible encreaſe and progreſs.

A new Miniſtry.

The firſt thing the King did, was, to chooſe a Miniſtry, and to ſettle a Council. The Earl of Shrewſbury was declared Secretary of State, and had the greateſt ſhare of the King's Confidence. No exception could be made to the choice, except on account of his youth. But he applied himſelf to buſineſs with great diligence, and maintained his candor and temper with more reſervedneſs, than was expected from one of his age. It was for ſome time under conſideration, who ſhould be the other Secretary; at laſt the Earl of Nottingham was pitched on. He had oppoſed the Settlement with great earneſtneſs, in his copious way of ſpeaking. But he had always ſaid, that, tho' he would not make a King, yet upon his principles, he could obey him better than thoſe who were ſo much ſet on making one. The High Church Party did apprehend, that the oppoſition they had given the King's advancement, and the zeal that others had ſhewed for it, would alienate him from them, and throw him into other hands, from whom no good was to be expected for them: And they looked for ſevere revenges for the hardſhips they had put on theſe in the end of King Charles's

1689. Reign. This grew daily upon that party, and made them begin to look back toward King James. So, not to provoke ſo great a Body too much, it was thought adviſable to employ the Earl of Nottingham. The great increaſe of Chancery buſineſs had made many apprehend, it was too much to be truſted to one perſon: So it was reſolved to put the Chancery in Commiſſion: And the Earl of Nottingham was propoſed to be the firſt in the Commiſſion, but he refuſed it. So Maynard, Keck, and Rawlinſon, three eminent Lawyers, were made the three Commiſſioners of the Great Seal. And ſoon after that, the Earl of Nottingham was appointed Secretary of State. This gave as much ſatisfaction to all the High Party, as it begot jealouſies and diſtruſt in others. The one hoped for protection and favour by his means: They reckoned, he would infuſe all the Prerogative Notions into the King; and give him ſuch a jealouſy of every ſtep that the others ſhould make in prejudice of theſe, that from thence the King would ſee cauſe to ſuſpect all the ſhew of kindneſs that they might put on to him, when at the ſame time they were undermining ſome of thoſe Prerogatives, for which the Earl of Nottingham ſeemed to be ſo zealous. This had a great effect on the King, who being ignorant of our Conſtitution, and naturally cautious, ſaw cauſe enough to diſlike the heat he found among thoſe, who expreſſed much zeal for him, but who ſeemed, at the ſame time, to have with it a great mixture of Republican principles. They, on the other hand, were much offended at the employing the Earl of Nottingham. And he gave them daily cauſe to be more diſpleaſed at it: For he ſet himſelf with a moſt eager partiality againſt the whole Party, and againſt all the motions made by them: And he ſtudied to poſſeſs the King with a very bad opinion of them. And, whereas Secretaries of State have a particular allowance for ſuch Spies, as they employ

The Earl of Nottingham's advancement unacceptable to the Whigs.

employ to procure intelligence, how exact ſoever he might be in procuring Foreign intelligence, he ſpared no coſt nor pains to have an account of all that paſſed in the City, and in other angry cabals: And he furniſhed the King very copiouſly that way; which made a deep impreſſion on him, and had very bad effects. The Earl of Danby was made Marquiſs of Carmarthen, and Preſident of the Council: And Lord Halifax had the Privy Seal. The laſt of theſe had gone into all the ſteps, that had been made for the King, with great zeal, and by that means was hated by the High Party, whom for diſtinction ſake I will hereafter call TORIES, and the other WHIGS: Terms that I have ſpoken much againſt, and have ever hated: But to avoid making always a longer deſcription, I muſt uſe them; they being now become as common as if they had been words of our Language. Lord Halifax ſoon ſaw that his friendſhip with the Whigs was not like to laſt long: His oppoſing the Excluſion ſtuck ſtill deep with them: And the buſineſs of the Quo Warranto's, and the delivering up of Charters, was caſt on him: The ſlowneſs of relieving Ireland was alſo charged on him: He had for ſome time great credit with the King; tho' his Mercurial Wit was not well ſuited with the King's Phlegm. Lord Carmarthen could not bear the equality, or rather the preference that ſeemed to be given to Lord Halifax: And therefore ſet on the ſtorm, that quickly broke out upon him. 1689.

Lord Mordaunt was made Earl of Monmouth, and firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury: And Lord Delamer made Earl of Warrington*, was Chancellor of the Exchequer: Lord Godolphin was likewiſe brought into the Treaſury, to the great grief of the other two; who ſoon ſaw, that the King conſidered him more than them both. For,

* He was not made Earl of Warrington till after his removal from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1689. as he underſtood Treaſury buſineſs well, ſo his calm and cold way ſuited the King's temper. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington, tho' both moſt violent Whigs, became great enemies: The former was generous, and gave the inferior places freely; but ſought out the men who were moſt noted for Republican Principles, for them all: And the other, they ſaid, ſold every thing that was in his power. The Privy Council was compoſed chiefly of Whigs.

The Judges well choſen.

Nothing gave a more general ſatisfaction than the naming of the Judges; the King ordered every Privy Counſellor, to bring a liſt of twelve: And out of theſe, twelve very learned and worthy Judges were choſen. This nomination was generally well received over the nation. The firſt of theſe was Sir John Holt, made Lord Chief Juſtice of England, then a young man for ſo high a poſt, who maintained it all his time with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great diſpatch. So that ſince the Lord Chief Juſtice Hale's time, that Bench has not been ſo well filled, as it was by him.

The King's chief perſonal favour, lay between Benthink and Sidney: The former was made Earl of Portland, and Groom of the Stole, and continued for ten years to be entirely truſted by the King; and ſerved him with great fidelity and obſequiouſneſs: But he could never bring himſelf to be acceptable to the Engliſh Nation. The other was made firſt, Lord Sidney, and then Earl of Rumney: And was put in ſeveral great poſts. He was made Secretary of State, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Maſter of the Ordnance: But he was ſo ſet on pleaſure, that he was not able to follow buſineſs with a due application. The Earls of Devonſhire and Dorſet had the white Staffs: The firſt was Lord Steward, and the other was Lord Chamberlain: And they being both Whigs, the houſhold was made up of ſuch, except where there were buyers

buyers for places, which were ſet to ſale: And tho' the King ſeemed to diſcourage that, yet he did not encourage propoſitions, that were made for the detecting thoſe practices. Thus was the Court, the Miniſtry, and the Council compoſed. The Admiralty was put in commiſſion: And Herbert made Earl of Torrington, was firſt in the commiſſion. He tried to dictate to the Board: And, when he found that did not paſs upon them, he left it; and ſtudied all he could to diſparage their conduct: And it was thought, he hoped to have been advanced to that high truſt alone. 1689.

The firſt thing propoſed to be done, was to turn the Convention into a Parliament, according to the precedent ſet in the year 1660. This was oppoſed by all the Tories. They ſaid, Writs were indiſpenſible to the being of a Parliamene. And, tho' the like was done at the Reſtoration, yet it was ſaid, that the Convention was then called, when there was no King nor Great Seal in England: And it was called by the conſent of the lawful King, and was done upon a true and viſible, and not on a pretended neceſſity: And they added that, after all, even then the Convention was not looked on as a legal Parliament: Its acts were ratified in a ſubſequent Parliament; and from thence they had their authority. So it was moved, that the Convention ſhould be diſſolved, and a new Parliament ſummoned: For in the joy which accompanied the Revolution, men well affected to it were generally choſen: And it was thought, that the damp, which was now ſpread into many parts of the Nation, would occaſion great changes in a new election. On the other hand, the neceſſity of affairs was ſo preſſing, that no time was to be loſt: A delay of forty days might be the total loſs of Ireland; and ſtop all our preparations at Sea: Nor was it adviſeable, in ſo critical a time, to put the Nation into the ferment, which a new election would occaſion. And it was reaſonable to expect, that thoſe

The Convention turned to a Parliament.

1689. who had ſet the King on the Throne, would be more zealous to maintain him there, than any new ſet of men could poſſibly be: And thoſe who ſubmitted to a King, de facto, muſt likewiſe ſubmit to a Parliament, de facto. So the bill paſt: And a day was ſet for the call of both Houſes, and for requiring the Members to take the Oaths.

Some Biſhops leave the Parliament.

Eight Biſhops abſented themſelves, who were Sancroft of Canterbury, Thomas of Worceſter, Lake of Chicheſter, Turner of Ely, Lloyd of Norwich, Ken of Bath and Wells, Frampton of Glouceſter, and White of Peterborough. But in the mean while, that they might recommend themſelves by a ſhew of moderation, ſome of them moved the Houſe of Lords, before they withdrew from it, for a bill of Toleration, and another of Comprehenſion: And theſe were drawn and offered by the Earl of Nottingham: And, as he ſaid to me, they were the ſame that he had prepared for the Houſe of Commons in King Charles's time, during the Debates of the Excluſion: But then things of that kind were looked on as artifices, to lay the heat of that time, and to render the Church Party more popular. After thoſe motions were made, the Biſhops that were in the Houſe withdrew: Sancroft, Thomas, and Lake, never came: The two laſt died ſoon after. Ken, was a man of a warm imagination: And at the time of the King's firſt landing, he declared heartily for him, and adviſed all the Gentlemen, that he ſaw, to go and join with him. But during the Debates in the Convention, he went with great heat into the notion of a Prince Regent. And now, upon the call of the Houſe, he withdrew into his Dioceſe. He changed his mind again, and wrote a paper, perſwading the Clergy to take the Oaths, which he ſhewed to Dr. Whitby, who read it, as the Dr. has told me often. His Chaplain, Dr. Eyre, did alſo tell me, that he came with him to London, where at firſt he owned he was reſolved to go to the

the Houſe of Lords, and to take the Oaths. But the firſt day after he came to Town, he was prevailed on to change his mind: And he has continued ever ſince in a very warm oppoſition to the Government. Sancroft went on in his unactive ſtate, ſtill refuſing the Oaths, but neither acting nor ſpeaking, except in great confidence, to any againſt their taking them. Theſe Biſhops did one thing very inconſiſtent with their other actions, and that could not be eaſily reconciled to the rules of good conſcience. All preſentations are directed to Biſhops, or to their Chancellors. But, by a general agreement in the year 1660, the Biſhops reſolved to except out of the Patents, that they gave their Chancellors, the power of giving Inſtitution into Cures, which before that, the Chancellors were impowered to give in the Biſhops abſence. Now the Biſhops were bound to ſee that the Clergy, before they gave them Inſtitution, took the Oaths to the Government. In order therefore to decline the doing this, and yet avoid the actions of Quare Impedit, that they would be liable to, if they did not admit the Clerks preſented to them, they gave new Patents to their Chancellors, empowering them to give Inſtitution; which they knew could not be done, but by tendring the Oaths. So they gave authority to Laymen, to admit men to Benefices, and to do that which they thought unlawful, as was the ſwearing to an Uſurper againſt the lawful King. Thus it appeared, how far the Engagement of intereſt and parties can run men into contradictions. 1689.

Upon the Biſhops refuſing the Oaths, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, requiring all perſons to take them by a prefixed day, under ſeveral forfeitures and penalties. The Clergy that took them not, were to fall under ſuſpenſion for ſix months, and at the end of thoſe, they were to be deprived. This was followed with a particular eagerneſs by ſome, who were known enemies to

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1689. the Church: And it was then generally believed, that a great part of the Clergy would refuſe the Oaths. So they hoped to have an advantage againſt the Church by this means. Hambden perſwaded the King, to add a period to a Speech he made, concerning the Affairs of Ireland, in which he propoſed the admitting all Proteſtants to ſerve in that War. This was underſtood, to be intended, for taking off the Sacramental Teſt, which was neceſſary by the Law, to qualify men for employments, and was looked on, as the chief ſecurity the Church of England had, as it excluded Diſſenters from all employments. And it was tried, if a bargain could be made, for excuſing the Clergy from the Oaths, provided the Diſſenters might be excuſed from the Sacrament. The King put this into his Speech, without communicating it to the Miniſtry: And it had a very ill effect. It was not only rejected by a great majority in both Houſes; but it very much heightened the prejudices againſt the King, as bearing no great affection to the Church of England, when he propoſed the opening ſuch a door, which they believed would be fatal to them. The rejecting this, made the act impoſing the Oaths to be driven on with the more zeal. This was in debate, when I came into the Houſe of Lords: For Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury, died this Winter: Many ſpoke to the King in my favour, without my knowledge. The King made them no anſwer. But a few days after he was ſet on the Throne, he of his own motion named me to that See: And he did it in terms more obliging, than uſually fell from him. When I waited on the Queen, ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped I would now put in practice thoſe notions, with which I had taken the liberty often to entertain her. All the forms of the congè délire, and my Election, were carried on with diſpatch. But a great difficulty was in view. Sancroft would not ſee me; and he refuſed to conſecrate me. So by Law,

I was made Biſhop of Saliſbury.

when

when the Mandate was brought to him, upon not obeying it, he must have been sued in a Premunire: And for some Days, he seemed determined to venture that: But as the danger came near, he prevented it, by granting a Commission to all the Bishops of his Province, or to any three of them, in Conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise his Metropolitical authority during pleasure. Thus he did authorise others to consecrate me, while yet he seemed to think it an unlawful Act. This was so mean, that he himself was ashamed of it afterwards. But he took an odd way to overthrow it: For he sent for his original Warrant: And so took it out of the Office, and got it into his own hands. 1689.

I happened to come into the House of Lords, when two great debates were managed with much heat in it. The one was about the Toleration and Comprehension, and the other was about the Imposing the Oaths on the Clergy. And I was engaged at my first coming there, to bear a large share in both.

Debates concerning the Oaths.

That which was long insisted on, in the House of Lords, was, that instead of the clause positively enacting, that the Clergy should be obliged to take the Oaths, the King might be impowered to tender them, and then the refusal was to be punished according to the Clause, as it stood in the Act. It was thought, such a power would oblige them to their good behaviour, and be an effectual restraint upon them: They would be kept quiet at least by it: Whereas, if they came under Deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, that would make them desperate, and set them on to undermine the Government. It was said, that the Clergy, by the Offices of the Church, did solemnly own their Allegiance to God, in the sight of all their people; that no Oath could lay deeper Engagements on them, than those Acts of religious Worship did: And if they should either pass over those Offices,

or

1689. or perform them, otherwise than as the Law required, there was a clear method, pursuant to the Act of Uniformity, to proceed severely against them. It was also said, that in many different changes of Government, Oaths had not proved so effectual a security as was imagined: Distinctions were found out, and senses were put on words, by which they were interpreted so, as to signify but little, when a Government came to need strength from them: And it ill became those, who had formerly complained of these impositions, to urge this with so much vehemence. On the other hand, it was urged, that no man ought to be trusted by a Government, chiefly in so sacred a concern, who would not give security to it; especially, since the Oath was brought to such low and general terms. The Expedient that was proposed, would put a hardship upon the King, which was always to be carefully avoided. The day prefixed was at the distance of some months: So that men had time sufficient given them to study the point: And, if in that time they could not satisfy themselves, as to the lawfulness of acknowledging the Government, it was not fit that they should continue in the highest Posts of the Church. An exception of Twelve was proposed, who should be subject to the Law, upon refusing the Oaths, when required to it by the King; but that was rejected: And all the mitigation that was obtained, was a power to the King, to reserve a third part of the profits of any twelve Benefices he should name, to the Incumbents who should be deprived by virtue of this Act: And so it passed. I was the chief Manager of the Debate, in favour of the Clergy; both in the House of Lords, and at the Conferences with the Commons. But, seeing it could not be carried, I acquiesced the more easily; because, tho' in the beginning of these Debates I was assured, that those who seemed resolved not to take the Oaths, yet prayed for the King in their Chapels;

yet I found afterwards this was not true, for they named no King nor Queen, and so it was easy to guess, whom they meant by such an indefinite designation. I also heard many things, that made me conclude, they were endeavouring to raise all the Opposition to the Government possible. 1689.

The Bill of Toleration passed easily. It excused Dissenters from all penalties, for their not coming to Church, and for going to their separate Meetings. There was an exception of Socinians: But a provision was put in it, in favour of Quakers: And, tho' the rest were required to take the Oaths to the Government, They were excused, upon making in lieu thereof a solemn Declaration. They were to take out Warrants for the Houses they met in: And the Justices of Peace were required to grant them. Some proposed, that the Act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the Dissenters, that they might demean themselves, so as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offered should end. But this was rejected: There was now an universal inclination to pass the Act: But it could not be expected, that the Nation would be in the same good disposition towards them at another time. I shewed so much zeal for this Act, as very much sunk my credit, which had risen from the approbation I had gained, for opposing That which enacted the taking the Oaths. As for the Act of Comprehension, some progress was made in it. But a Proviso was offered, that, in imitation of the Acts passed in King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth's time, a number of persons, both of the Clergy and Laity, might be empowered to prepare such a Reformation of things, relating to the Church, as might be offered to King and Parliament, in order to the healing our Divisions, and the correcting what might be amiss or defective in our Constitution. This was pressed with great earnestness by many of the temporal Lords. I at that time did imagine,

An Act of Toleration.

A motion for a Comprehension.

1689. imagine, that the Clergy would have come into ſuch a deſign with zeal and unanimity: And I feared this would be looked on by them, as taking the matter out of their hands: And for that reaſon I argued ſo warmly againſt this, that it was carried by a ſmall Majority to let it fall. But I was convinced ſoon after, that I had taken wrong meaſures; and that the method propoſed by theſe Lords, was the only one like to prove effectual: But this did not ſo recommend me to the Clergy, as to balance the cenſure I came under, for moving, in another Proviſo of that Bill, that the Subſcription, inſtead of Aſſent and Conſent, ſhould only be to ſubmit with a promiſe of Conformity. There was a Proviſo likewiſe, in the Bill, for diſpenſing with kneeling at the Sacrament, and being Baptized with the Sign of the Croſs, to ſuch as, after conference upon thoſe heads, ſhould ſolemnly proteſt, they were not ſatisfied as to the lawfulneſs of them. That concerning kneeling, occaſion'd a vehement Debate: For, the Poſture being the chief exception that the Diſſenters had, the giving up this was thought to be the opening a way for them to come into Employments. Yet it was carried in the Houſe of Lords. And I declared my ſelf zealous for it. For ſince, it was acknowledged, that the Poſture was not eſſential in itſelf, and that Scruples, how ill grounded ſoever, were raiſed upon it, it ſeemed reaſonable to leave the matter as indifferent in its practice, as it was in its nature.

Thoſe who had moved for this Bill, and afterwards brought it into the Houſe, acted a very diſingenuous part: For, while they ſtudied to recommend themſelves by this ſhew of Moderation, they ſet on their Friends to oppoſe it: And ſuch as were very ſincerely and cordially for it, were repreſented as the Enemies of the Church, who intended to ſubvert it. When the Bill was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was lie on the Table. And, inſtead of proceeding in it, they made an

Addreſs to the King, for ſummoning a Convocation of the Clergy to attend, according to cuſtom, on the Seſſion of Parliament. The Party, that was now beginning to be formed againſt the Government, pretended great zeal for the Church; and declared their apprehenſions that it was in danger, which was imputed by many to the Earl of Nottingham's management. Theſe, as they went heavily into the Toleration, ſo they were much offended with the Bill of Comprehenſion, as containing matters relating to the Church, in which the Repreſentative Body of the Clergy had not been ſo much as adviſed with. 1689.

Nor was this Bill ſupported by thoſe, who ſeemed moſt favourable to the Diſſenters: They ſet it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a ſtrong faction both in Church and State; And they thought it was not agreeable to that, to ſuffer ſo great a body as the Preſbyterians to be made more eaſy, or more inclinable to unite to the Church: They alſo thought, that the Toleration would be beſt maintained, when great numbers ſhould need it, and be concerned to preſerve it: So this good Deſign being zealouſly oppoſed, and but faintly promoted, it fell to the ground.

An ill humour ſpread among the Clergy.

The Clergy began now to ſhew an implacable hatred to the Nonconformiſts, and ſeemed to wiſh for an occaſion to renew old Severities againſt them. But wiſe and good men did very much applaud the quieting the Nation by the Toleration. It ſeemed to be ſuitable, both to the Spirit of the Chriſtian Religion, and to the Intereſt of the Nation. It was thought very unreaſonable, that, while we were complaining of the Cruelty of the Church of Rome, we ſhould fall into ſuch practices among our ſelves; chiefly, while we were engaging in a war, in the progreſs of which we would need the united ſtrength of the whole Nation.

This Bill gave the King great content. He in his own opinion always thought, that Conſcience

was

1689. was God's Province, and that it ought not to be impoſed on: And his experience in Holland made him look on Toleration, as one of the wiſeſt meaſures of Government: He was much troubled to ſee ſo much ill humour ſpreading among the Clergy, and by their means over a great part of the Nation. He was ſo true to his Principle herein, that he reſtrained the heat of ſome, who were propoſing ſevere Acts againſt Papiſts. He made them apprehend the advantage, which that would give the French, to alienate all the Papiſts of Europe from us; who from thence might hope to ſet on foot a new Catholick League, and make the War a quarrel of Religion; which might have very bad effects. Nor could he pretend to protect the Proteſtants in many places of Germany, and in Hungary, unleſs he could cover the Papiſts in England, from all Severities on the account of their Religion. This was ſo carefully infuſed into many, and ſo well underſtood by them, that the Papiſts have enjoy'd the real effects of the Toleration, tho' they were not comprehended within the Statute that enacted it.

Great gentleneſs towards Papiſts.

War proclaimed againſt France.

While domeſtick matters were raiſing great heats at home, we ſaw the neceſſity of making vigorous Preparations for the War abroad, and in Ireland. The King laid before both Houſes the Alliances, formerly made by the Crown of England, with the States, and with the Empire, together with the new ones that were now propoſed, which made a Rupture with France neceſſary. So, by the Advices of both Houſes, War was declared againſt France: And the neceſſary Supplies, both for the Quota that the King was to furniſh, and for the Reduction of Ireland, were provided.

Debates concerning the Revenue.

The next care was a Revenue, for the Support of the Government. By a long courſe, and the practice of ſome Ages, the Cuſtoms had been granted to our Kings for life: So the King expected, that the like regard ſhould be ſhewn for him.

But

But mens minds were much divided in that matter. 1689.
Some Whigs, who by a long Oppoſition, and jealouſy of the Government, had wrought themſelves into ſuch Republican Principles, that they could not eaſily come off from them, ſet it up as a maxim not to grant any Revenue, but from year to year, or at moſt, for a ſhort term of years. This, they thought, would render the Crown precarious, and oblige our Kings to ſuch a popular method of Government, as ſhould merit the conſtant Renewal of that Grant. And they hoped, that ſo uncertain a tenure, might more eaſily bring about an entire change of government. For, by the denying the revenue at any time (except upon intolerable conditions) they thought That might be eaſily effected, ſince it would render our Kings ſo feeble, that they would not be able to maintain their authority. The Tories obſerving this, made great uſe of it, to beget in the King jealouſies of his friends, with too much colour, and too great ſucceſs. They reſolved to reconcile themſelves to the King by granting it, but at preſent only to look on, till the Whigs, who now carried every thing, to which they ſet their full ſtrength, ſhould have refuſed it.

The King, as he had come through the weſtern countries, from his firſt landing, had been in many places moved to diſcharge the Chimney money: And had promiſed to recommend it to the Parliament. He had done that ſo effectually, that an Act paſt diſcharging it; tho' it was ſo much oppoſed by the Tories, that it ran a great hazard in the Houſe of Lords. Thoſe who oppoſed it, pretended, that it was the only ſure fund, that could never fail in war, ſo that money would be freely advanced upon it: They ſaid, a few regulations would take away any grievance, that might ariſe from it: But it was thought, they were not willing that ſuch an Act ſhould paſs, as would render the King acceptable to the body of the

The Chimney money diſcharged.

1689. Nation. It was also thought, that the prospect they then had of a speedy revolution, in favour of King James, made some of them unwilling to pass an Act, that seemed to lay an obligation on him, either to maintain it, or by resuming his revenue, to raise the hatred of the Nation higher against him. When the settling the King's revenue was brought under consideration, it was found, there were anticipations and charges upon it, from which it seemed reasonable to clear it. So many persons were concerned in this, and the season of the year was so far advanced, that it was pretended, they had not time to examine that matter with due care: And therefore, by a Provisional Act, they granted the King the revenue for one year: And many intended never to carry the grant but from year to year. This touched the King very sensibly. And many discourses, that past among four Whigs in their cabals, were communicated to him by the Earl of Nottingham, by which he concluded, he was in the hand of persons, that did not intend to use him well.

A bill concerning the militia.

A bill was prepared, concerning the militia, which upon the matter, and in consequence of many clauses in it, took it in a great measure both from the Crown, and out of the Lords Lieutenants; who being generally Peers, a bill that lessened their authority so much, was not like to pass in the House of Lords: So it was let lie on the table. By this likewise, which was chiefly promoted by the Whigs, the King came to think, that those who had raised him to the Throne, intended to depress his prerogative, as much as they had exalted his person. He seemed to grow tender and jealous upon these points, the importance of every one of them being much aggravated by the Earl of Nottingham, who had furnished him with a scheme of all the points of the prerogative, and of their dependence one upon another: And he seemed so possessed with this, that many

of

of thoſe who had formerly moſt of his confidence, found a coldneſs growing upon him, which increaſed their diſguſt, and made them apprehend, they ſhould again ſee a reign full of prerogative maxims. One thing the Houſe of Commons granted, which was very acceptable to the King: They gave the States about 600000 l. for the charge they had been at in the Fleet and Army, which they furniſhed the King with at the revolution. 1689.

They could not be brought to another point, tho' often and much preſſed to it by the King. He thought nothing would ſettle the minds of the Nation ſo much as an Act of indemnity, with proper exceptions of ſome criminals, that ſhould be left to juſtice. Jefferies was in the Tower; Wright, who had been Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſome of the Judges, were in Newgate; Graham and Burton, who had been the wicked ſolicitors in the former reigns, were in priſon; but the hotteſt of the Whigs would not ſet this on. They thought it beſt to keep many under the laſh; they intended ſevere revenges for the blood that had been ſhed, and for the many unjuſt things that had been done in the end of King Charles's reign; they ſaw, that the clogging the indemnity, with many comprehenſive exceptions, would create King James a great party; ſo they did not think it proper to offer at that: Yet they reſolved to keep them ſtill in their power, till a better opportunity for falling on them ſhould offer itſelf: Therefore they proceeded ſo ſlowly in that matter, that the bill could not be brought to a ripeneſs during this ſeſſion. It is true, the great mildneſs of the King's temper, and the gentleneſs of his government, which was indeed rather liable to cenſure, as being too remiſs, ſet peoples minds much at eaſe: And, if it gave too much boldneſs to thoſe, who began to ſet up an open oppoſition to him, yet it gained upon the greater part of the Nation, who

Debates concerning an Act of Indemnity.

1689. saw none of those moving spectacles, that had been so common in former reigns: And all promised themselves happy days, under so merciful a Prince. But angry men put a wicked construction on the earnestness the King shewed for an Act of indemnity: They said, he intended to make use of a set of prerogative men, as soon as legally he could; And therefore he desired the instruments of King James's illegal government might be once secured, that so he might employ them. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were infusing jealousies of the King into their party, with the same industry that the Earl of Nottingham was, at the same time, instilling into the King jealousies of them: And both acted with too much success; which put matters much out of joint. For tho' the Earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire did all they could, to stop the progress and effects of those suspicions, with which the Whigs were possessed, yet they had not credit enough to do it. The Earl of Shrewsbury, tho' he had more of the King's favour, yet he had not strength to resist the Earl of Nottingham's pompous and tragical declamations.

The bill of rights.

There was a bill of great importance sent up by the Commons to the Lords, that was not finished this session. It was a bill, declaring the rights and liberties of England, and the succession to the Crown, as had been agreed by both Houses of Parliament, to the King and Queen and their Issue, and after them, to the Princess Anne and her Issue, and after these, to the King and his Issue. A clause was inserted, disabling all Papists from succeeding to the Crown, to which the Lords added, "or such as should marry Papists." To this I proposed an additional clause, absolving the subjects, in that case, from their allegiance. This was seconded by the Earl of Shrewsbury: And it passed without any opposition, or debate; which amazed us all, considering the importance of it.

But

But the King ordered me to propose the naming the Dutchess of Hanover, and her posterity, next in the succession. He signified his pleasure in this also to the ministers. But he ordered me to begin the motion in the House, because I had already set it on foot. And the Duke of Hanover had now other thoughts of the matter, and was separating himself from the interests of France. The Lords agreed to the proposition without any opposition. So it was sent down to the Commons. There were great debates there upon it. Hambden pressed it vehemently. But Wildman, and all the Republican party, opposed it. Their secret reason seemed to be, a design to extinguish monarchy, and therefore to substitute none, beyond the three that were named, that so the Succession might quickly come to an end. But it not being decent to own this, all that they pretended was, that there being many in the lineal Succession, after the three that were named, who were then of the Church of Rome, the leaving to them a possibility to succeed, upon their turning Protestants, might have a good effect on them, and dispose them to hearken to instruction; all which would be defeated by a declaration in favour of the Dutchess. 1689.

To this it was answered, in a free conference, that for that very reason it was fit to make this declaration: Since nothing could bring us into a more certain danger, than a pretended conversion of a false Convert, who might by such a disguise ascend the Throne, and so work our ruin by secret artifices. Both Houses adhered, after the free conference. So the bill fell for that time: But it was resolved to take it up at the opening of the next session. And the King thought, it was not then convenient to renew the motion of the Dutchess of Hanover, of which he ordered me to write her a particular account. It was fit once to have the bill passed, that enacted the perpetual exclusion of all Papists: For that, upon the matter, brought the succession to their door. And if

1689. any in the Line, before her, ſhould pretend to change, as it was not very likely to happen, ſo it would not be eaſily believed. So it was reſolved to carry this matter no further at this time. The bill paſſed without any oppoſition, in the beginning of the next ſeſſion; which I mention here, that I might end this matter all at once. The preſent ſeſſion was drawn to a great length, and was not ended till Auguſt: And then it broke up with a great deal of ill humour.

King James's Great Seal found in the Thames.

One accident happen'd this ſummer, of a pretty extraordinary nature, that deſerves to be remembred. A fiſher-man, between Lambeth and Vauxhall, was drawing a net pretty cloſe to the channel; and a great weight was, not without ſome difficulty, drawn to the ſhore, which, when taken up, was found to be the Great Seal of England. King James had called for it from the Lord Jefferies, the night before he went away, as intending to make a ſecret uſe of it, for pardons or grants. But it ſeems, when he went away, he thought either, that the bulk or weight of it made it inconvenient to be carried off, or that it was to be hereafter of no more uſe to him: And therefore, that it might not be made uſe of againſt him, he threw it into the Thames. The fiſher-man was well rewarded, when he brought the Great Seal to the King: And by his order it was broke.

The State of affairs of Ireland.

But now I muſt look over to the affairs of Ireland, and to King James's motions. Upon his coming to the Court of France, he was received with great ſhews of tenderneſs and reſpect; the French King aſſuring him, that, as they had both the ſame intereſts, ſo he would never give over the war, till he had reſtored him to his Throne. The only proſpect he now had, was to keep up his party in Ireland and Scotland. The meſſage from Tirconnel, for ſpeedy ſupplies, was very preſſing: And his party in Scotland ſent one Lindſay over to him, to offer him their ſervice,

and

and to ask what assistance they might depend upon. The French ministry was at this time much divided. Louvois had the greatest credit, and was very successful in all his counsels; so that he was most considered. But Seignelay was believed to have more personal favour, and to be more entirely united to Madam Maintenon. These two were in a high competition for favour, and hated one another. Seignelay had the Marine, as the other had the Army, for his province. So, King James having the most dependence on the Marine, and looking on the Secretary for that Post as the most powerful favourite, made his chief application to him; which set Louvois to cross and retard every thing, that was proposed for his service. So that matters for him went on slowly, and very defectively. There was another circumstance in King James's affairs, that did him much hurt. Lausun, whose adventures will be found in the French history, had come over to King James, and offered him his service, and had attended on the Queen, when she went over to France. He had obtained a promise of King James, that he should have the command of such forces, as the King of France would assist him with. Louvois hated Lausun; nor did the King of France like to employ him: So Louvois sent to King James, desiring him to ask of the King of France, Souvray, a son of his, whom he was breeding to serve in war, to command the French troops. But King James had so engaged himself to Lausun, that he thought he could not in honour depart from it. And ever after that, we were told, that Louvois studied, by all the ways he could think of, to disparage him, and all the propositions he made: Yet he got about 5000 Frenchmen, to be sent over with him to Ireland, but no great supplies in money. Promises were sent the Scots of great assistance, that should be sent them from Ireland: They were encouraged to make all possible opposition in the Convention: And, as soon as the season of the year

1689.

King James came over thither.

1689. year would admit of it, they were ordered to gather together in the Highlands, and to keep themſelves in ſafe places there, till further orders ſhould be ſent them. With theſe, and with a ſmall ſupply in money, of about five or ſix thouſand pounds, for buying ammunition and arms, Lindſay was ſent back. I had ſuch a character given me of him, that I entertained good thoughts of him. So, upon his return, he came firſt to me, and pretended he had gone over on private affairs, being deeply engaged in debt for the Earl of Melfort, whoſe Secretary he had been. I underſtood from him, that King James had left Paris to go for Ireland: So I ſent him to the Earl of Shrewſbury's Office: But there was a ſecret management with one of the under Secretaries there for King James: So he was not only diſmiſſed, but got a paſs warrant from Dr. Wynne, to go to Scotland. I had given the Earl of Shrewſbury ſuch a character of the man, that he did more eaſily believe him; but he knew nothing of the paſs warrant. So, my eaſineſs to think well of people, was the chief occaſion of the miſchief that followed, on his not being clapt up and more narrowly examined. Upon King James's landing in Ireland, he marched his Army from Kinſale to Ulſter. And, when it was all together, it conſiſted of 30,000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe. It is true, the Iriſh were now as inſolent, as they were undiſciplined: And they began to think they muſt be maſters of all the King's Counſels. A jealouſy aroſe between them and the French: They were ſoon on very bad Terms, and ſcarce ever agreed in their Advices: All king James's party, in the Iſle of Britain, preſſed his ſettling the affairs of Ireland the beſt he could, and his bringing over the French, and ſuch of the Iriſh, as he could beſt govern, and depend on; and adviſed him to land in the North of England, or in the Weſt of Scotland.

The Siege of Londonderry.

But the firſt thing that was to be done, was to reduce Londonderry. In order to this, two different

ferent Advices were offered. The one was, to march with a great Force, and to take it immediately: for the town was not capable of reſiſting, if vigorouſly attack'd. The other was, to block it up ſo, that it ſhould be forced in a little time to ſurrender; and to turn to other more vigorous deſigns. But, whereas either of theſe Advices might have been purſued with advantage, a third Advice was offered, but I know not by whom, which was the only bad one, that could be propoſed; and yet, by a ſort of fatality, which hung over that King, it was followed by him; and that was, to preſs the Town by a ſlow Siege, which, as was given out, would bring the Iriſh into the methods of War, and would accuſtom them to Fatigue and Diſcipline. And this being reſolved on, King James ſent a ſmall Body before it, which was often changed: And by theſe he continued the Siege above two months, in which the poor Inhabitants formed themſelves into great Order, and came to generous Reſolutions of enduring the laſt extremities. They made ſome Sallies, in which the Iriſh always ran away, and left their Officers; ſo that many of their beſt Officers were killed. Thoſe within ſuffered little, but by hunger, which deſtroyed near two thirds of their number. One Convoy, with two Regiments, and Proviſions, was ſent to their relief: But they looked on the ſervice as deſperate, being deceived by Lundy, who was the Governor of the Place, and had undertaken to betray it to King James; but he finding them jealous of him, came to the Convoy, and perſuaded them that nothing could be done: So they came back, and Lundy with them. Yet the poor Inhabitants, tho' thus forſaken, reſolved ſtill to hold out; and ſent over ſuch an account of the ſtate they were in, that a ſecond and greater Convoy was ſent, with about 5000 men, commanded by Kirk, who, after he came in ſight, made not that haſte to relieve them that was ne- 1689.

ceſſary,

1689. ceſſary, conſidering the miſery they were in. They had a River that came up to their Town: But the Iriſh had laid a Bomb and Chains croſs it, and had planted Batteries for defending it. Yet a Ship ſailing up with Wind and Tide, broke through: And ſo the Town was relieved, and the Siege raiſed in great confuſion.

Was at laſt raiſed.

Iniſkillin had the ſame fate: The inhabitants entred into reſolutions of ſuffering any thing, rather than fall into the hands of the Iriſh: A conſiderable force was ſent againſt them: but thro' their courage, and the cowardice of the Iriſh, they held out.

All this while, an Army was preparing in England, to be ſent over for the Reduction of Ireland, commanded by Schomberg, who was made a Duke in England, and to whom the Parliament gave 100,000 pounds for the ſervices he had done. The Levies were carried on in England with great zeal: And the Bodies were quickly full. But, tho' both Officers and Soldiers ſhewed much courage and affection to the ſervice: yet they were raw, without experience, and without ſkill. Schomberg had a quick and happy paſſage; with about 10,000 men. He landed at Belfaſt, and brought the forces that lay in Ulſter together. His Army, when ſtrongeſt, was not above 14,000 men; and he had not above 2000 Horſe. He marched on to Dundalk; and there poſted himſelf. King James came to Ardee, within five or ſix miles of him, being above thrice his number. Schomberg had not the ſupplies from England, that had been promiſed him: Much treachery or ravenouſneſs appeared in many, who were employed. And he finding his numbers ſo unequal to the Iriſh, reſolved to lie on the defenſive. He lay there ſix weeks in a very rainy ſeaſon. His men, for want of due care and good management, contracted ſuch diſeaſes, that he loſt almoſt the one half of his Army. Some blamed him for not putting things more to hazard: It was ſaid, that

Duke Schomberg with an Army went to Ireland.

he

he measured the Irish by their numbers, and not by their want of sense and courage. Such complaints were sent of this to the King, that he wrote twice to him, pressing him to put somewhat to the venture: But he saw the Enemy was well posted, and well provided: And he knew they had several good Officers among them. If he had pushed matters, and had met with a misfortune, his whole Army, and consequently all Ireland, would have been lost: For he could not have made a regular retreat. The sure game was to preserve his Army: And that would save Ulster, and keep matters entire for another year. This was censured by some: But better judges thought, the managing this Campaign as he did, was one of the greatest parts of his life. The Irish made some poor attempts to beat up his Quarters: But even where they surprised his men, and were much superior in number, they were so shamefully beat back, that this encreased the contempt the English naturally had for them. In the end of October, all went into Winter Quarters. 1689.

Affairs at Sea.

Our operations on the Sea were not very prosperous. Herbert was sent with a fleet, to cut off the communication between France and Ireland. The French had sent over a fleet, with a great transport of stores and ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of Bantry Bay, Herbert engaged them. The wind was against him: So that it was not possible for the greatest part of the Fleet to come up, and enter into action: And so those who engaged were forced to retire with some disadvantage. But the French did not pursue him. He came back to Portsmouth, in order to refit some of his Ships; and went out again, and lay before Brest, till the end of Summer. But the French Fleet did not come out any more all that summer: So that ours lay some months at sea to no purpose. But, if we lost few of our seamen in the

1689. the engagement, we loſt a great many, by reaſon of the bad victualling. Some excuſed this, becauſe it was ſo late in the year, before funds were made for it: while others imputed it to baſe practices, and worſe deſigns. So affairs had every where a very melancholy face.

Affairs in Scotland.

I now turn to give an account of the Proceedings in Scotland. A Convention of the States was ſummoned there, in the ſame manner as in England. Duke Hamilton was choſen Preſident. And, a Letter being offered to them, from King James by Lindſay, they would not receive, nor read it: But went on to ſtate the ſeveral violations of their Conſtitution and Laws, made by King James. Upon theſe it was moved, that a Judgment ſhould be given, declaring, that he had forfeited his Right to the Crown. Upon this, three parties were formed: One was compoſed of all the Biſhops, and ſome of the Nobility, who oppoſed theſe proceedings againſt the King, as contrary to their laws and oaths: Others thought, that their Oaths were only to the King, as having the executive power, to ſupport him in that; but that, if he ſet himſelf to invade and aſſume the Legiſlature, he renounced his former authority by ſubverting that, upon which it was founded. So they were for proceeding to a declaratory Judgment: A third party was formed, of thoſe who agreed with the former in their concluſion: But not in coming to ſo ſpeedy a determination. They thought, it was the intereſt of Scotland to be brought under the laws of England, and to be united to the Parliament of England; and that this was the propereſt time for doing that to the beſt advantage; ſince England would be obliged, by the preſent ſtate of Affairs, to receive them upon good terms. They were therefore willing to proceed againſt King James: But they thought it not reaſonable to make too much haſte in a new ſettlement: and were for maintaining the Government, in an Interregnum, till the Union ſhould

Debates in the Convention.

ſhould be perfected, or at leaſt put in a probable way. This was ſpecious, and many went into it: But, ſince it tended to the putting a ſtop to a full Settlement, all that favoured King James joined in it: For by this more time was gained. To this project it was objected, that the Union of the two Kingdoms muſt be a work of time; ſince many difficulties would ariſe in any Treaty about it: whereas the preſent circumſtances were critical, and required a ſpeedy deciſion, and quick proviſion to be made for their ſecurity; ſince, if they continued in ſuch a neutral ſtate, they would have many enemies, and no friends: And the zeal that was now working among them for Preſbytery, muſt raiſe a greater averſion than ordinary, in the body that was for the Church of England, to any ſuch Treaty with them. 1689.

While much heat was occaſioned by this debate, great numbers came armed from the Weſtern Counties, on pretence to defend the Convention: For the Duke of Gordon was ſtill in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and could have done them much harm, tho' he lay there in a very inoffenſive ſtate. He thought the beſt thing he could do was, to preſerve that place long for King James; ſince to provoke the Convention, would have drawn a ſiege and ruin upon him, with too much precipitation, while there was not a force in the field ready to come and aſſiſt him. So it was ſaid, there was no need of ſuch armed Companies, and that they were come to over-awe and force the Convention.

A Riſing deſigned there.

The Earl of Dundee had been at London, and had fixed a correſpondence both with England and France: though he had employed me to carry meſſages, from him to the King, to know what ſecurity he might expect, if he ſhould go and live in Scotland without owning his Government. The King ſaid, if he would live peaceably, and at home, he would protect him: To this he anſwered, that, unleſs he were forced to it, he would live quietly.

1689. quietly. But he went down with other resolutions; and all the Party resolved to submit to his command. Upon his coming to Edinburgh, he pretended he was in danger from those armed multitudes: And so he left the Convention; and went up and down the Highlands, and sent his Agents about, to bring together what force they could gather. This set on the conclusion of the debates of the Convention.

King James was judged there.

They passed the Judgment of Forfeiture on King James. And on the 11th of April, the day in which the King and Queen were crowned, with the ordinary solemnities at Westminster, they declared William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland. But with this, as they ordered the Coronation-Oath to be tendered to them, so they drew up a Claim of Rights, which they pretended, were the fundamental and unalterable laws of the Kingdom. By one of these it was declared, that the Reformation in Scotland, having been begun by a parity among the Clergy, all Prelacy in that Church was a great and insupportable grievance to that Kingdom. It was an absurd thing to put this in a Claim of Rights; for which not only they had no law, but which was contrary to many laws then in being: So that, tho' they might have offered it as a grievance, there was no colour for pretending it was a national Right. But they had a notion among them, that every article, that should be put in the Claim of Rights, became an unalterable law, and a condition upon which the Crown was to be held: Whereas grievances were such things, as were submitted to the King and Parliament to be redressed, or not, as they should see cause: But the Bishops, and those who adhered to them, having left the Convention, the Presbyterians had a majority of voices to carry every thing as they pleased, how unreasonable soever. And upon this, the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland, was made a necessary article of the new Settlement.

They pass a Claim of Rights.

Soon

Soon after the King came to St. James's, the Epiſcopal Party there, had ſent up the Dean of Glaſgow, whom they ordered to come to me: And I introduced him to the then Prince. He was ſent to know, what his intentions were with relation to them. He anſwered, he would do all he could to preſerve them, granting a full Toleration to the Preſbyterians: But this was, in caſe they concurred in the new ſettlement of that Kingdom: For if they oppoſed that, and if, by a great majority in Parliament, reſolutions ſhould be taken againſt them, the King could not make a War for them: but yet he would do all that was in his power to maintain ſuch of them as ſhould live peaceably in their Functions. This he ordered me likewiſe to write back, in anſwer to what ſome Biſhops and others had writ to me upon that ſubject. But the Earl of Dundee, when he went down, poſſeſſed them with ſuch an opinion of another ſpeedy Revolution, that would be brought about in favour of King James, that they reſolved to adhere firmly to his Intereſts: So, they declaring in a body, with ſo much zeal, in oppoſition to the new Settlement, it was not poſſible for the King to preſerve that Government there: All thoſe who expreſſed their zeal for him, being equally zealous againſt that Order. 1689. Epiſcopacy by this was aboliſhed.

Among thoſe who appeared in this Convention, none diſtinguiſhed himſelf more, than Sir James Montgomery, a Gentleman of good Parts, but of a moſt unbridled heat, and of a reſtleſs ambition: He bore the greateſt ſhare in the whole Debate, and promiſed himſelf a great Poſt in the new Government. Duke Hamilton preſided with great diſcretion and courage: So that the bringing the Settlement ſo ſoon to a calm concluſion, was chiefly owing to him. A petition of grievances, relating to the Lords of the Articles, the Judges, the Coin, and ſeveral other matters, was alſo ſettled: And three Commiſſioners were ſent, one from every State,

1689. State, to the King and Queen, with the Tender of the Crown, with which they were also to tender them the Coronation-Oath, and the Claim of Rights: And when the Oath was taken, they were next to offer the Petition, for the redress of Grievances. The three Commissioners were, the Earl of Argyle for the Lords, Sir James Montgomery for the Knights, or, as they call them, for the Barons, and Sir John Dalrymple for the Burroughs. When the King and Queen took the oaths, the King explained one word in the Oath, by which he was bound "to repress Heresies," that he did not by this bind himself to persecute any for their Conscience. And now he was King of Scotland, as well as of England and Ireland.

A Ministry in Scotland.

The first thing to be done was, to form a Ministry in Scotland, and a Council; and to send Instructions, for turning the Convention into a Parliament, in which the Duke of Hamilton was to represent the King, as his Commissioner. Before the King had left the Hague, Fagel had so effectually recommended Dalrymple, the Father, to him, that he was resolved to rely chiefly on him for advice. And, tho' he had heard great complaints of him, as indeed there was some ground for them, yet, since his Son was sent One of the three, upon so great a Deputation, he concluded from thence that the Family was not so much hated, as he had been informed: So he continued still to be advised by him. The Episcopal Party were afraid of Montgomery's being made Secretary, from whom they expected nothing but extream severities: So they set themselves to divert that; and the Lord Melvil, who had married the Dutchess of Monmouth's Sister, and had continued from 1660 firm to Presbytery, and had been of late forced to leave the Kingdom, was looked on as an easy Man, who would have credit enough to restrain the fury of that Party. So he was made sole Secretary of State; which

which proved a very unhappy ſtep: For, as he was by his Principle bigotted to Preſbytery, and ready to ſacrifice every thing to their humours, ſo he proved to be in all reſpects a narrow hearted man, who minded his own Intereſt more, than either that of the King or of his Country. This choice gave a great diſtaſte: And that was followed by a Miniſtry, in the framing of which he had the chief hand; who were weak and paſſionate men. All Offices were ſplit into Commiſſions, that many might have ſome ſhare: But it rendred them all contemptible: And, tho' Montgomery had a conſiderable Poſt offered him, yet his miſſing that he aimed at ſtuck deep, and began to work in him an averſion to the King, which broke out afterwards into much fury and plotting againſt him. Nor did Duke Hamilton think, that he was conſidered, in the new model of the Miniſtry, as he deſerved, and might juſtly have expected. 1689.

A faction raiſed in Scotland.

The Parliament there was opened with much ill humour: And they reſolved to carry the Redreſs of Grievances very far. Lord Melvill hoped to have gained the Preſbyterian Party, by ſending Inſtructions to Duke Hamilton, to open the Seſſion with an Act in favour of Preſbytery: But the Majority reſolved to begin with their Temporal concerns. So the firſt Grievance, to which a Redreſs was deſired, was the Power of the Lords of the Articles; that relating ſo immediately to the Parliament itſelf. The King conſented to a proper Regulation, as that the number ſhould be enlarged and changed, as often as the Parliament ſhould deſire it, and that the Parliament might bring matters before them, tho' they were rejected by the Lords of the Articles. This anſwered all the juſt complaints, that had been made of that part of the Conſtitution: But the King thought it was the Intereſt of the Crown, to preſerve it thus regulated: Yet it was pretended, that, if the name and ſhadow of that were ſtill kept up, the Parliament

1689. ment would in ſome time be inſenſibly brought under all thoſe Reſtraints, that were now to be provided againſt. So they moved to take it quite away. Duke Hamilton writ long Letters, both to the King and to the Lord Melvill, giving a full account of the progreſs of an ill humour, that was got among them, and of the ill conſequence it was like to have: But he had no anſwer from the King: And Lord Melvill writ him back dark and doubtful orders: So he took little care how matters went, and was not ill pleaſed to ſee them go wrong. The Revenue was ſettled on the King for life; And they raiſed the money, which was neceſſary for maintaining a ſmall Force in that Kingdom, tho' the greateſt part of an Army of 6000 men was paid by England. But even the Preſbyterians began to carry their Demands high: They propoſed to have the King's Supremacy, and the Right of Patronage taken away: And they aſked ſo high an Authority to their Government, that Duke Hamilton, tho' of himſelf indifferent as to thoſe matters, yet would not agree to them. He thought, theſe broke in too much on their Temporal concerns; and would eſtabliſh a Tyranny in Preſbytery, that could not be eaſily born. He writ to me very fully on that head, and I took the liberty to ſpeak ſometimes to the King on thoſe ſubjects; my deſign being chiefly to ſhelter the Epiſcopal Clergy, and to keep the change, that was now to be made, on ſuch a foot, that a door might ſtill be kept open: But Lord Melvill had poſſeſſed the King with a notion, that it was neceſſary for his ſervice, that the Preſbyterians ſhould know, that I did not at all meddle in thoſe matters, otherwiſe they would take up a jealouſy of every thing that was done; and that this might make them carry their demands much further: So I was ſhut out from all meddling in thoſe matters: And yet I was then, and ſtill continued to be much loaded with this prejudice, that I did not ſtudy to hinder

hinder thoſe changes, that were then made in Scotland. And all the King's enemies in England continued ſtill to charge him, for the alterations then made in Scotland; tho' it was not poſſible, had he been ever ſo zealous for Epiſcopacy, to have preſerved it at that time: And I could do no more than I did, both for the Order itſelf, and for all thoſe who adhered to it there. A new debate was ſet on foot in that Parliament, concerning the Judges. By the Law there, when the King names a Judge, he ought to be examined by other Judges, whether he is qualified as the Law directs: But, in the year 1661, becauſe the Bench was to be filled with a new ſet of Judges, ſo that there was none to examine the reſt, the nomination the King then made, was read in Parliament: And, no objection being made to any of them, they did upon that ſit and act as Judges. It was expected, that the ſame method ſhould be followed at this time. But inſtead of that, the King continued ſuch a number of the former Judges, as was ſufficient to examine thoſe, who were now to be advanced: So that was ordered to be done. Upon this thoſe, who oppoſed every thing, pretended, that the Nomination ought to be made in Parliament: And they had prepared Objections againſt every one, that was upon the Liſt; intending by this to put a publick Affront on one of the firſt, and moſt important Actions of the King's Government. Duke Hamilton had a poſitive Inſtruction ſent him, not to ſuffer this matter to be brought into Parliament: Yet he ſaw the Party was ſo ſet, and ſo ſtrong, that they had a clear Majority: Nor did he himſelf very much approve of the Nomination, chiefly that of old Dalrymple, ſoon after made Lord Stair, to be Preſident. So he diſcontinued the Parliament. 1689.

A Riſing in Scotland.

But, while thoſe animoſities were thus fomented, the Earl of Dundee had got together a conſiderable body of Gentlemen, with ſome thouſands

1689. of Highlanders. He ſent ſeveral Meſſengers over to Ireland, preſſing King James to come, either to the North of England, or to Scotland. But, at the ſame time he deſired, that he would not bring the Lord Melfort over with him, or employ him more in Scotch Buſineſs; and that he would be contented with the exerciſe of his own Religion. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that all this went againſt the grain with King James; and that the Lord Melfort diſparaged all the Earl of Dundee's undertakings. In this he was much ſupported by the French near that King, who had it given them in charge (as a main inſtruction) to keep him up to a high owning of his Religion, and of all thoſe who were of it; and not to ſuffer him to enter into any Treaty or Conditions with his Proteſtant Subjects, by which the Papiſts ſhould in any ſort ſuffer, or be ſo much as diſcouraged. The Iriſh were willing enough to croſs the Seas to England, but would not conſent to the going over to Scotland. So the Earl of Dundee was furniſhed with ſome ſmall ſtore of Arms and Ammunition, and had kind promiſes, encouraging him, and all that joined with him.

Mackay, a General Officer, that had ſerved long in Holland with great reputation, and who was the piouſeſt man I ever knew, in a military way, was ſent down to command the Army in Scotland. He was one of the beſt Officers of the Age, when he had nothing to do but to obey and execute Orders; for he was both diligent, obliging and brave: But he was not ſo fitted for command. His Piety made him too apt to miſtruſt his own Senſe, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in any thing, where there might be a needleſs effuſion of blood. He followed the Earl of Dundee's motions, who was leſs encumber'd with Cannon and other Baggage, and ſo marched quicker than it was poſſible for him to follow: His men were for the moſt part new levied, and without experience; but he had

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ſome old Bodies, on whom he depended. The heads of the Clans among the Highlanders, promiſed to join him: But moſt of them went to the Earl of Dundee. At laſt, after many marches and motions, they came to an engagement at Gillicranky, ſome few miles above Dunkeld: The ground was narrow: And Lord Dundee had the advantage: He broke through Mackay's Army, and they ran for it: And probably, if the Earl of Dundee had out-lived that day, the Victory might have been purſued far: But a random ſhot put an end to his life, and to the whole deſign: For Mackay rallied his men, and made ſuch a ſtand, that the other ſide fell into great diſorder, and could never be formed again into a conſiderable Body: A Fort was ſoon after built at Innerlocky, which was called Fort William, and ſerved to cut off the communication between the Northern and Southern Highlanders. 1689.

During all theſe publick diſorders, that happen'd in ſo many different places, the Trade ſuffered conſiderably: For the French, not ſetting out a Fleet any more, ſent out ſo many Cruiſers and Privateers into our Seas, that England thereby ſuffered great loſſes; there not being at that time a ſufficient number of Frigates to convoy and ſecure the Merchant-men. We ſeemed to be Maſters at Sea, and yet were great Loſers there.

Affairs went much better on the Rhine. The Imperial Army, commanded by the Duke of Lorrain, took Mentz, which the French had entered, after they took Philipſburg: The Siege was ſlow and long, but proſperous in its concluſion: And by this means Franconia, which before lay expoſed, was now covered. The Elector of Brandenburg came down with an Army, and cleared the Archbiſhoprick of Cologn, which was before poſſeſſed by French Garriſons. Keizerwart and Bonne held him ſome time: But the reſt were ſoon taken. So now the Rhine was open all up to Mentz. No- Foreign Affairs.

1689. thing paſſed in Flanders, where Prince Waldeck commanded: And the Campaign ended without any misfortunes on that ſide.

A jealouſy of the King ſpread among the Engliſh Clergy.

I now return to the affairs of England, during the Receſs. The Clergy generally took the Oaths, tho' with too many reſervations, and diſtinctions, which laid them open to ſevere cenſures, as if they had taken them againſt their Conſcience. The King was ſuſpected by them, by reaſon of the favour ſhewed to Diſſenters, but chiefly for his aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scotland, and his conſenting to the ſetting up Preſbytery there. This gave ſome credit to the Reports, that were with great induſtry infuſed into many of them, of the King's coldneſs at beſt, if not his averſion, to the Church of England. The leading men in both Univerſities, chiefly Oxford, were poſſeſſed with this: And it began to have very ill effects over all England. Thoſe who did not carry this ſo far as to think, as ſome ſaid they did, that the Church was to be pulled down; yet ſaid, a Latitudinarian Party was like to prevail, and to engroſs all Preferments. Theſe were thought leſs bigotted to outward Ceremonies: So now it was generally ſpread about, that men zealous for the Church would be neglected, and that thoſe who were more indifferent in ſuch matters, would be preferred. Many of the latter had managed the Controverſies with the Church of Rome with ſo much clearneſs, and with that ſucceſs, that the Papiſts, to revenge themſelves, and to blaſt thoſe, whom they conſidered as their moſt formidable Enemies, had caſt aſperſions on them as Socinians, and as men that denied all Myſteries. And now, ſome angry men at Oxford, who apprehended that thoſe Divines were likely to be moſt conſidered in this Reign, took up the ſame method of calumny; and began to treat them as Socinians. The Earl of Clarendon, and ſome of the Biſhops, who had already incurred the ſuſpenſion, for not taking the oaths to the government,

vernment, took much ill natured pains to ſpread theſe ſlanders. Six Biſhopricks happened to fall within this year: Saliſbury, Cheſter, Bangor, Worceſter, Chicheſter, and Briſtol: So that the King named ſix Biſhops within ſix months. And the perſons promoted to theſe Sees were, generally, men of thoſe principles. The proceedings in Scotland caſt a great load on the King: He could not hinder the change of the government of that Church, without putting all his affairs in great diſorder. The Epiſcopal party went almoſt univerſally into King James's intereſts: So that the Preſbyterians were the only party, that the King had in that Kingdom. The King did indeed aſſure us, and myſelf in particular, that he would reſtrain and moderate the violence of the Preſbyterians. Lord Melvill did alſo promiſe the ſame thing very ſolemnly: And at firſt he ſeemed much ſet upon it. But when he ſaw ſo great a party formed againſt himſelf: And, ſince many of the Preſbyterians inclined to favour them, and to ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to the Court, he thought it was the King's intereſt, or at leaſt his own, to engage that party entirely: And he found nothing could do that ſo effectually, as to abandon the Miniſters of the Epiſcopal perſuaſion to their fury. He ſet up the Earl of Crawford, as the head of his party; who was paſſionate in his temper, and was out of meaſure zealous in his principles: He was choſen to be the Preſident of the Parliament. He received and encouraged all the complaints, that were made of the Epiſcopal Miniſters: The Convention, when they had paſſed the votes, declaring the King and Queen, ordered a proclamation to be read the next Sunday, in all the Churches of Edinburgh; and in all the other Churches in the Kingdom, by a certain prefixed day; but which was ſo near at hand, that it was ſcarce poſſible to lay proclamations, all round the Nation, within the time; and it was abſolutely impoſſible 1689.

1689. for the Clergy to meet together, and come to any resolution among themselves: For the most part, the proclamations were not brought to the Ministers till the morning of the Sunday, in which they were ordered to be read; so, this having the face of a great change of principles, many could not on the sudden resolve to submit to it: Some had not the proclamations brought to them till the day was past: Many of these read it the Sunday following. Some of those, who did not think fit to read the proclamation, yet obeyed it; and continued, after that, to pray for the King and Queen. Complaints were brought to the Council of all those, who had not read nor obeyed the proclamation: And they were in a summary way deprived of their benefices. In the executing this, Lord Crawford shewed much eagerness and violence. Those who did not read the proclamation on the day appointed, had no favour, tho' they did it afterwards. And upon any word that fell from them, either in their extemporary prayers, or sermons, that shewed disaffection to the Government, they were also deprived: All these things were published up and down England, and much aggravated: And raised the aversion, that the friends of the Church had to the Presbyterians so high, that they began to repent their having granted a Toleration to a party, that, where they prevailed, shewed so much fury against those of the Episcopal persuasion. So that such of us, as had laboured to excuse the change, that the King was forced to consent to, and had promised in his name, great moderation towards our friends in that Kingdom, were much out of countenance, when we saw the violence with which matters were carried there. These things concurred to give the Clergy such ill impressions of the King, that we had little reason to look for success, in a design that was then preparing for the Convocation, for whom a sum-

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mons was iſſued out to meet, during the next ſeſſion of Parliament. 1689.

A Comprehenſion endeavoured.

It was told, in the hiſtory of the former reign, that the Clergy did then expreſs an inclination, to come to a temper with relation to the Preſbyterians, and ſuch other Diſſenters as could be brought into a Comprehenſion with the Church: The Biſhops had mentioned it in their Petition to King James, for which they were tried: And his preſent Majeſty had promiſed, to endeavour an Union between the Church and the Diſſenters, in that Declaration, that he brought over with him: But it ſeemed neceſſary to prepare and digeſt that matter carefully, before it ſhould be offered to the Convocation. Things of ſuch a nature ought to be judged of by a large number of Men; but muſt be prepared by a ſmaller number well choſen: Yet it was thought a due reſpect to the Church, to leave the matter wholly in the hands of the Clergy. So, by a ſpecial Commiſſion under the Great Seal, ten Biſhops and twenty Divines were empowered to meet, and prepare ſuch Alterations, in the Book of Common-Prayer and Canons, as might be fit to lay before the Convocation. This was become neceſſary, ſince by the Submiſſion, which the Clergy in Convocation made to King Henry VIII. which was confirmed in Parliament, they bound themſelves not to attempt any new Canons, without obtaining the King's leave firſt, and that under the pains of a Premunire. It was looked on therefore, as the propereſt way, to obtain the King's leave, to have a Scheme of the whole matter put in order, by a number of Biſhops and Divines: Great care was taken to name theſe ſo impartially, that no exceptions could lie againſt any of them: They, upon this, ſat cloſely to it, for ſeveral weeks: They had before them all the Exceptions, that either the Puritans before the War, or the Nonconformiſts ſince the Reſtoration, had made to any part of the Church Service: They had alſo many Propo-

1689. Propoſitions and Advices that had been offered, at ſeveral times, by many of our Biſhops and Divines, upon thoſe heads: Matters were well conſidered, and freely and calmly debated: And all was digeſted into an entire Correction of every thing, that ſeemed liable to any juſt objection. We had ſome very rigid, as well as very learned men among us; tho' the moſt rigid, either never came to our Meetings, or they ſoon withdrew from us, declaring themſelves diſſatisfied with every thing of that nature; ſome telling us plainly, that they were againſt all alterations whatſoever. They thought, too much was already done for the Diſſenters, in the Toleration that was granted them; but that they would do nothing to make that ſtill eaſier. They ſaid further, that the altering the Cuſtoms and Conſtitution of our Church, to gratify a peeviſh and obſtinate Party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more inſolent; as if the Church, by offering theſe Alterations, ſeemed to confeſs that ſhe had been hitherto in the wrong. They thought, this attempt would divide us among ourſelves, and make our People loſe their eſteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted Correction. They alſo excepted to the manner of preparing matters, by a ſpecial Commiſſion, as limiting the Convocation, and impoſing upon it: And to load this with a word of an ill ſound, they called this a new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. But in anſwer to all this, it was ſaid, that, if by a few Corrections or Explanations, we offered all juſt ſatisfaction to the chief Objections of the Diſſenters, we had reaſon to hope, that this would bring over many of them, at leaſt of the People, if not of the Teachers among them; or, if the prejudices of education wrought too ſtrongly upon the preſent Age, yet, if ſome more ſenſible objections were put out of the way, we might well hope, that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If theſe condeſcenſions

sions were made so, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the Nonconformists had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the Church: But, such offers being made only, in regard to their weakness, the reproach fell on them; as the honour accrued to the Church, who shewed herself a true Mother, by her care to preserve her Children. It was not offered, that the ordinary posture, of receiving the Sacrament kneeling, should be changed: That was still to be the received and favoured posture: Only such, as declared they could not overcome their scruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another posture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be so: All the necessity of them arose only, from the authority in Church and State, that had enacted them. Therefore it was an unreasonable stiffness, to deny any abatement, or yielding in such matters, in order to the healing the wounds of our Church. Great alterations had been made in such things, in all the Ages of the Church. Even the Church of Rome was still making some alterations in her Rituals. And changes had been made among ourselves, often since the Reformation, in King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the Second's reigns. These were always made upon some great turn: Critical times being the most proper for designs of that kind. The Toleration, now granted, seemed to render it more necessary than formerly, to make the terms of Communion, with the Church, as large as might be; that so we might draw over to us the greater number, from those who might now leave us more safely: And therefore we were to use the more care in order to gaining of them. And, as for the manner of preparing these overtures, the King's Supremacy signified little, if he could not appoint a select number to consider of such matters, as he might think fit to lay before the Convocation. 1689.

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1689. This did no way break in upon their full freedom of Debate; it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the Propoſitions that ſhould be offered to them. But, while men were arguing this matter on both ſides, the Party that was now at work for King James, took hold of this occaſion to enflame mens minds. It was ſaid, the Church was to be pulled down, and Preſbytery was to be ſet up; that all this now in Debate was only intended to divide and diſtract the Church, and to render it, by that means, both weaker and more ridiculous, while it went off from its former grounds, in offering ſuch conceſſions. The Univerſities took fire upon this; and began to declare againſt it, and againſt all that promoted it, as men that intended to undermine the Church: Severe Reflections were caſt on the King, as being in an Intereſt contrary to the Church: For the Church was as the word given out by the Jacobite Party, under which they thought they might more ſafely ſhelter themſelves: Great canvaſſings were every where, in the Elections of Convocation-Men; a thing not known in former times: So that it was ſoon very viſible, that we were not in a temper, cool or calm enough, to encourage the further proſecuting ſuch a deſign.

A Convocation met, but would not agree to it.

When the Convocation was opened, the King ſent them a Meſſage by the Earl of Nottingham, aſſuring them of his conſtant Favour and Protection, and deſiring them to conſider ſuch things, as by his order ſhould be laid before them, with due care, and an impartial zeal for the peace and good of the Church. But the Lower Houſe of Convocation expreſſed a reſolution not to enter into any Debates with relation to alterations: So that they would take no notice of the ſecond part of the King's Meſſage: And it was, not without difficulty, carried to make a decent Addreſs to the King, thanking him for his promiſe of Protection. But becauſe, in the draught which the Biſhops ſent them,

them, they acknowledged the Protection that the Protestant religion in general, and the Church of England in particular, had received from him, the lower House thought, that this imported their owning some common union with the foreign Protestants: So they would not agree to it. There was at this time but a small number of Bishops in the upper House of Convocation: And they had not their Metropolitan with them: So they had not strength nor authority to set things forward. Therefore they advised the King to suffer the Session to be discontinued. And thus, seeing they were in no disposition to enter upon business, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations, for a course of ten years. This was in reality a favour to them; for, ever since the year 1662, the Convocation had indeed continued to sit, but to do no business; so that they were kept at no small charge in town to do nothing, but only to meet, and read a Latin litany. It was therefore an ease, to be freed from such an attendance to no purpose. The ill reception, that the Clergy gave the King's message, raised a great and just out-cry against them: Since all the promises made in King James's time were now so entirely forgot. 1689.

But there was a very happy direction of the providence of God observed in this matter. The Jacobite Clergy, who were then under suspension, were designing to make a schism in the Church, whensoever they should be turned out, and their places should be filled up by others. They saw, it would not be easy to make a separation upon a private and personal account; they therefore wished to be furnished with more specious pretences: And, if we had made alterations in the Rubrick, and other parts of the Common-Prayer, they would have pretended, that they still stuck to the ancient Church of England, in opposition to those who were altering it, and setting up new models: And, as I do firmly believe that there is a wise provi-

1689. dence, that watches upon human affairs, and directs them, chiefly thoſe that relate to religion; ſo I have with great pleaſure obſerved this, in many inſtances relating to the Revolution. And, upon this occaſion, I could not but ſee, that the Jacobites among us, who wiſhed and hoped that we ſhould have made thoſe alterations, which they reckoned would have been of great advantage for ſerving their ends, were the inſtruments of raiſing ſuch a clamour againſt them, as prevented their being made. For by all the judgments we could afterwards make, if we had carried a majority in the Convocation for alterations, they would have done us more hurt than good.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

I now turn to a more important, as well as a more troubleſome ſcene. In winter, a ſeſſion of Parliament met, full of jealouſy and ill humour. The ill conduct of affairs was imputed chiefly to the Lord Halifax; ſo the firſt attack was made on him. The Duke of Bolton made a motion in the Houſe of Lords, for a Committee to examine, who had the chief hand in the ſeverities and executions in the end of King Charles's reign, and in the Quo Warranto's, and the delivering up the charters: The enquiry laſted ſome weeks, and gave occaſion to much heat: But nothing appeared that could be proved, upon which votes or addreſſes could have been grounded: Yet the Lord Halifax having, during that time, concurred with the Miniſtry in Council; he ſaw, it was neceſſary for him to withdraw now from the Miniſters, and quit the Court. And ſoon after he reconciled himſelf to the Tories, and became wholly theirs: He oppoſed every thing that looked favourably towards the Government, and did upon all occaſions ſerve the Jacobites, and protect the whole party. But the Whigs began to loſe much of the King's good opinion, by the heat that they ſhewed in both Houſes againſt their enemies; and by the coldneſs that appeared in every thing, that related to the publick,

publick, as well as to the King in his own particular. He expreſſed an earneſt deſire to have the revenue of the Crown ſettled on him for life: He ſaid, he was not a King, till that was done; without that, the title of a King was only a pageant. And he ſpoke of this with more than ordinary vehemence: So that ſometimes he ſaid, he would not ſtay, and hold an empty name, unleſs that was done: He ſaid once to my ſelf, he underſtood the good of a Commonwealth, as well as of a Kingly Government: And it was not eaſy to determine, which was beſt: But he was ſure, the worſt of all Governments was, that of a King without Treaſure, and without Power. But a jealouſy was now infuſed into many, that he would grow Arbitrary in his Government, if he once had the Revenue; and would ſtrain for a high ſtretch of Prerogative, as ſoon as he was out of difficulties and neceſſities. Thoſe of the Whigs, who had lived ſome years at Amſterdam, had got together a great many ſtories, that went about the City, of his ſullenneſs, and imperious way of dictating: The Scotch, who were now come up, to give an account of the proceedings in Parliament, ſet about many things that heightned their apprehenſions. One Simpſon, a Scotch Preſbyterian, was recommended to the Earl of Portland, as a man whom he might truſt; who would bring him good intelligence: So he was often admitted, and was entertained as a good Spy: But he was in a ſecret confidence with one Nevill Payne, the moſt active and dextrous of all King James's Agents, who had indeed loſt the reputation of an honeſt man entirely: And yet had ſuch arts of management, that even thoſe who knew what he was, were willing to employ him. Simpſon and he were in a cloſe League together; and he diſcovered ſo much of their ſecreteſt intelligence to Simpſon, that he might carry it to the Earl of Portland, as made him paſs for the beſt Spy the Court had. When he had gained great credit, he

1689.

The King grew jealous of the Whigs.

1689. made uſe of it to infuſe into the Earl of Portland jealouſies of the King's beſt friends; and, as the Earl of Portland hearkned too attentively to theſe, ſo by other hands it was conveyed to ſome of them, that the Court was now become jealous of them, and was ſeeking Evidence againſt them.

Conſpiracy againſt the Government.

Sir James Montgomery was eaſily poſſeſſed with theſe reports; and he and ſome others, by Payne's management, fell a treating with King James's Party in England: They demanded an aſſurance for the ſettlement of Preſbytery in Scotland, and to have the chief Poſts of the Government ſhared among them: Princes in exile are apt to grant every thing that is aſked of them; for they know that, if they are reſtored, they will have every thing in their power: Upon this, they entred into a cloſe Treaty, for the way of bringing all this about. At firſt they only aſked money, for furniſhing themſelves with Arms and Ammunition; but afterwards they inſiſted on demanding 3000 men, to be ſent over from Dunkirk; becauſe, by Duke Schomberg's being poſted in Ulſter, their communication with Ireland was cut off. In order to the carrying on this deſign, they reconciled themſelves to the Duke of Queenſbury, and the other Lords of the Epiſcopal party; and on both ſides it was given out, that this Union of thoſe, who were formerly ſuch violent Enemies, was only to ſecure and ſtrengthen their Intereſt in Parliament: The Epiſcopal Party pretending, that ſince the King was not able to protect them, they, who ſaw themſelves marked out for deſtruction, were to be excuſed for joining with thoſe, who could ſecure them. Simpſon brought an account of all this to the Earl of Portland, and was preſſed by him to find out witneſſes to prove it againſt Montgomery: He carried this to them, and told them, that the whole buſineſs was diſcovered, and that great Rewards were offered to ſuch, as would merit them by ſwearing againſt them. With this they

they alarmed many of their Party, who did not know what was at bottom, and thought that nothing was deſigned, but an oppoſition to Lord Melvill and Lord Stair; and they were poſſeſſed with a fear, that a new bloody ſcene of Sham-plots and ſuborned Witneſſes was to be opened. And when it began to be whiſpered about, that they were in treaty with King James, that appeared to be ſo little credible, that it began to be ſaid, by ſome diſcontented men, what could be expected from a Government, that was ſo ſoon contriving the ruin of its beſt Friends? Some feared, that the King himſelf might too eaſily receive ſuch Reports; and that the common practices of Miniſters, who ſtudy to make their Maſters believe, that all their own enemies are likewiſe His, were like to prevail in this reign, as much as they had formerly done. Montgomery came to have great credit with ſome of the Whigs in England, particularly with the Earl of Monmouth, and the Duke of Bolton: And he employed it all, to perſuade them not to truſt the King, and to animate them againſt the Earl of Portland: This wrought ſo much, that many were diſpoſed to think, they could have good terms from King James: And, that he was now ſo convinced of former errors, that they might ſafely truſt him. The Earl of Monmouth let this out to my ſelf twice; but in a ſtrain that looked like one who was afraid of it, and who endeavoured to prevent it: But he ſet forth the reaſons for it with great advantage, and thoſe againſt it very faintly. Matters were truſted to Montgomery and Payne; and Ferguſon was taken into it, as a man that naturally loved to embroil things. So, a deſign was managed, firſt to alienate the City of London ſo entirely from the King, that no Loans might be advanced on the Money Bills; which, without credit upon them, could not anſwer the end, for which they were given. It was ſet about, that King James would give a full Indemnity, for 1689.

1689. all that was paſt; and that, for the future, he would ſeparate himſelf entirely from the French Intereſt, and be contented with a ſecret connivance at thoſe of his own Religion. It was ſaid, he was weary of the Inſolence of the French Court, and ſaw his error, in truſting to it ſo much as he had done. This corrupted Party had gone ſo far, that they ſeemed to fancy, that the reſtoring him would be not only ſafe, but happy to the Nation. I confeſs, it was long before I could let my ſelf think, that the matter was gone ſo far; but I was at laſt convinced of it.

Diſcovered to the Author.

I received a Letter from an unknown hand, with a direction how to anſwer it: The ſubſtance of it was, that he could diſcover a Plot, deeply laid againſt the King, if he might be aſſured not to be made a Witneſs; and to have his friends, who were in it, pardoned: By the King's order, I promiſed the firſt; but an indefinite promiſe of Pardon, was too much to aſk: He might, as to that, truſt to the King's mercy. Upon this he came to me, and I found he was Montgomery's Brother: He told me a Treaty was ſettled with King James; articles were agreed on; and an Invitation was ſubſcribed, by the whole Cabal, to King James to come over: Which was to be ſent to the Court of France; both becauſe the Communication was eaſier, and leſs watched, when it went thro' Flanders, than with Ireland; and, to let the Court ſee how ſtrong a Party he had, and by that means to obtain the Supplies and Force that was deſired. He ſaid, he ſaw the writing, and ſome hands to it; but he knew many more were to ſign it; and he undertook to put me in a method to ſeize on the Original Paper. The King could not eaſily believe the matter had gone ſo far; yet he ordered the Earl of Shrewſbury to receive ſuch advices, as I ſhould bring him, and immediately to do what was proper: So a few days after this, Montgomery told me, one Williamſon was that day gone to Dover,

Dover, with the original Invitation: I found the Earl of Shrewſbury inclined enough to ſuſpect Williamſon. He had for ſome days ſolicited a Paſs for Flanders, and had got ſome perſons, of whom it was not proper to ſhew a Suſpicion, to anſwer for him. So one was ſent Poſt after him, with orders to ſeize him in his bed, and to take his Clothes and Portmanteau from him, which were ſtrictly examined; but nothing was found: Yet, upon the news of this, the Party was grievouſly affrighted; but ſoon recovered themſelves: The true ſecret of which was afterwards diſcovered. Simpſon was (it ſeems) to go over with Williamſon; but firſt to ride to ſome Houſes that were in the way to Dover; whereas the other went directly in the Stage-Coach. It was thought ſafeſt for Simpſon to carry theſe Papers; for there were many different Invitations, as they would not truſt their hands to one common paper: Simpſon came to the Houſe at Dover, where Williamſon was in the Meſſenger's hands: Thereupon he went away immediately to Deal, and hired a boat, and got ſafe to France with his Letters. Montgomery, finding that nothing was diſcovered, by the way which he had directed me to, upon that fancied he would be deſpiſed by us, and perhaps ſuſpected by his own ſide; and went over ſoon after, and turned Papiſt: But I know not what became of him afterwards. The fear of this Diſcovery ſoon went off: Simpſon came back with large aſſurances: And 12000 Pounds were ſent to the Scotch, who undertook to do great matters. All pretended Diſcoveries were laughed at, and looked on as the fictions of the Court: And upon this, the City of London were generally poſſeſſed with a very ill opinion of the King. The Houſe of Commons granted the Supplies, that were demanded for the Reduction of Ireland, and for the Quota, to which the King was obliged by his Alliances: And they continued the gift of the Revenue for another year. 1689.

1689. But one great error was committed by the Court, in accepting remote Funds; whereby the Intereſt of the money, then advanced on a Fund, payable at the diſtance of ſome years, did not only eat up a great deal of the Sum, but ſeemed ſo doubtful, that great Premiums were to be offered to thoſe, who advanced money upon a Security, which was thought very contingent; ſince few believed that the Government would laſt ſo long. So here was a ſhew of great Supplies, which yet brought not in the half of what they were eſtimated at.

A Bill concerning Corporations.

The Tories, ſeeing the Whigs grow ſullen, and that they would make no advances of money, began to treat with the Court, and promiſed great advances, if the Parliament might be diſſolved, and a new one be ſummoned. Thoſe propoſitions came to be known; ſo the Houſe of Commons prepared a Bill, by which they hoped to have made ſure of all future Parliaments; in it they declared, that Corporations could not be forfeited, nor their Charters ſurrendred; and they enacted, that all Mayors and Recorders, who had been concerned in the private delivering up of Charters, without the conſent of the whole Body, and who had done that in a clandeſtine manner, before the Judgment that was given againſt the Charter of London, ſhould be turned out of all Corporations, and be incapable of bearing Office in them for ſix years. This was oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons, by the whole ſtrength of the Tory Party; for they ſaw the carrying it was the total ruin of their Intereſt, thro' the whole Kingdom. They ſaid a great deal againſt the declaratory part: But whatſoever might be in that, they ſaid, ſince the thing had been ſo univerſal, it ſeemed hard to puniſh it with ſuch Severity: It was ſaid, that by this means, the Party for the Church would be diſgraced, and that the Corporations would be caſt into the hands of Diſſenters. And now both Parties made their court to the King: The Whigs

promiſed every thing that he deſired, if he would help them to get this Bill paſſed; and the Tories were not wanting in their promiſes, if the Bill ſhould be ſtopp'd, and the Parliament diſſolved. The Bill was carried in the Houſe of Commons by a great Majority: When it was brought up to the Lords, the firſt point in debate was, upon the declaratory part, whether a Corporation could be forfeited or ſurrendred? Holt, and two other Judges, were for the Affirmative, but all the reſt were for the Negative: No Precedents for the Affirmative were brought, higher than the reign of King Henry VIII. in which the Abbies were ſurrendred; which was at that time ſo great a point of State, that the authority of theſe Precedents ſeemed not clear enough for regular times: The Houſe was ſo equally divided, that it went for the Bill only by one Voice: After which, little doubt was made of the paſſing the Act. But now the applications of the Tories were much quickned; they made the King all poſſible promiſes: And the promoters of the Bill ſaw themſelves expoſed to the Corporations, which were to feel the effects of this Bill, ſo ſenſibly, that they made as great promiſes on their part: The matter was now at a critical iſſue; the paſſing the Bill put the King and the Nation in the hands of the Whigs; as the rejecting it, and diſſolving the Parliament upon it, was ſuch a truſting to the Tories, and ſuch a breaking with the Whigs, that the King was long in ſuſpence what to do. 1689.

He was once very near a deſperate reſolution; he thought, he could not truſt the Tories, and he reſolved he would not truſt the Whigs; ſo he fancied, the Tories would be true to the Queen, and confide in her, tho' they would not in him. He therefore reſolved to go over to Holland, and leave the Government in the Queen's hands: So he called the Marquiſs of Caermarthen, with the Earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome few more, and told

1689. them, he had a Convoy ready, and was reſolved to leave all in the Queen's hands; ſince he did not ſee how he could extricate himſelf out of the difficulties, into which the animoſities of Parties had brought him: They preſſed him vehemently to lay aſide all ſuch deſperate reſolutions, and to comply with the preſent neceſſity. Much paſſion appeared among them: The Debate was ſo warm, that many tears were ſhed; in concluſion, the King reſolved to change his firſt Deſign, into another better Reſolution of going over in perſon, to put an end to the War in Ireland: This was told me ſome time after by the Earl of Shrewſbury; but the Queen knew nothing of it, till ſhe had it from me; ſo reſerved was the King to her, even in a matter that concerned her ſo nearly. The King's deſign, of going to Ireland, came to be ſeen by the Preparations, that were ordered; but a great Party was formed in both Houſes to oppoſe it: Some did really apprehend the air of Ireland would be fatal to ſo weak a Conſtitution; and the Jacobites had no mind that King James ſhould be ſo much preſſed, as he would probably be, if the King went againſt him in perſon: It was by concert propoſed in both Houſes, on the ſame day, to prepare an Addreſs to the King againſt this Voyage: So the King, to prevent that, came the next day, and prorogued the Parliament; and that was ſoon after followed by a Diſſolution.

1690. This Seſſion had not raiſed all the money, that was demanded for the following Campaign; ſo it was neceſſary to iſſue out Writs immediately for a new Parliament. There was a great Struggle all England over in Elections; but the Corporation Bill did ſo highly provoke all thoſe, whom it was to have diſgraced, that the Tories were by far the greater number in the new Parliament. One thing was a part of the Bargain, that the Tories had made, that the Lieutenancy of London ſhould be changed;

A new Parliament.

changed: For upon the King's coming to the Crown, he had given a Commiſſion, out of which they were all excluded; which was ſuch a Mortification to them, that they ſaid, they could not live in the City with credit, unleſs ſome of them were again brought into that Commiſſion: The King recommended it to the Biſhop of London, to prepare a Liſt of thoſe, who were known to be Churchmen, but of the more moderate, and of ſuch as were liable to no juſt exception; that ſo the two Parties in the City might be kept in a Balance: The Biſhop brought a Liſt of the moſt violent Tories in the City, who had been engaged in ſome of the worſt things, that paſſed in the end of King Charles's Reign: A Committee of Council was appointed to examine the Liſt; but it was ſo named, that they approved of it. This was done to the great grief of the Whigs, who ſaid, that the King was now putting himſelf in his Enemies hands; and that the Arms of the City were now put under a ſett of Officers, who, if there was a poſſibility of doing it without hazard, would certainly uſe them for King James. This matter was managed by the Marquis of Caermarthen, and the Earl of Nottingham; but oppoſed by the Earl of Shrewſbury, who was much troubled at the ill conduct of the Whigs, but much more at this great change in the King's Government. The Elections of Parliament went generally for men, who would probably have declared for King James, if they could have known how to manage matters for him. The King made a change in the Miniſtry, to give them ſome ſatisfaction; the Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were both diſmiſſed; other leſſer changes were made in inferior places: So that Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed; and both ſtudied to court the King, by making advances upon the Money Bills. 1690.

The firſt great Debate aroſe, in the Houſe of Lords, upon a Bill that was brought in, acknow-

1690. ledging the King and Queen to be their Rightful and Lawful Sovereigns; and declaring all the Acts of the laſt Parliament to be good and valid. The firſt part paſſed, with little contradiction; tho' ſome excepted to the words Rightful and Lawful, as not at all neceſſary. But the ſecond Article bore a long and warm Debate. The Tories offered to enact, that theſe ſhould be all good Laws, for the time to come, but oppoſed the doing it in the declaratory way. They ſaid, it was one of the Fundamentals of our Conſtitution, that no Aſſembly could be called a Parliament, unleſs it was called and choſen upon the King's Writ. On the other hand it was ſaid, that whatſoever tended to the calling the authority of that Parliament in queſtion, tended likewiſe to the weakning of the preſent Government, and brought the King's Title into queſtion. A real neceſſity, upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions, muſt ſuperſede Forms of Law: Otherwiſe the preſent Government was under the ſame Nullity. Forms were only Rules for peaceable times: But, in ſuch a juncture, when all that had a right to come, either in perſon, or by their Repreſentatives, were ſummoned, and freely elected; and when, by the King's Conſent, the Convention was turned to a Parliament, the eſſentials, both with relation to King and People, were ſtill maintained in the Conſtitution of that Parliament. After a long debate, the Act paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, with this temper, declaring and enacting, that the Acts of that Parliament were and are good and valid: Many Lords proteſting againſt it, at the head of whom was the Earl of Nottingham, notwithſtanding his great Office at Court. It was expected, that great and long Debates ſhould have been made in the Houſe of Commons upon this Act. But, to the wonder of all People, it paſſed in two days in that Houſe, without any Debate or Oppoſition. The truth was, the Tories had reſolved to commit the Bill;

A Bill recognizing the King, Queen, and the Acts of the Convention.

and

and in order to that, ſome trifling exceptions were made to ſome words, that might want correction; for Bills are not committed, unleſs ſome amendments are offered: And, when it was committed, it was then reſolved to oppoſe it. But one of them diſcovered this too early; for he queſtioned the Legality of the Convention, ſince it was not ſummoned by Writ: Somers, then Solicitor General, anſwered this with great ſpirit; he ſaid, if that was not a Legal Parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the Oaths, enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of High Treaſon; the Laws repealed by it were ſtill in force, ſo they muſt preſently return to King James; all the money levied, collected, and paid, by virtue of the Acts of that Parliament, made every one that was concerned in it highly criminal: This he ſpoke with much zeal, and ſuch an aſcendant of Authority, that none was prepared to anſwer it; ſo the Bill paſſed without any more oppoſition. This was a great ſervice, done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raiſe Somers's character. 1690.

The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Sir John Trevor, was a bold and dextrous man; and knew the moſt effectual ways of recommending himſelf to every Government: He had been in great favour in King James's time, and was made Maſter of the Rolls by him; and, if Lord Jefferies had ſtuck at any thing, he was looked on as the man, likelieſt to have had the Great Seal: He now got himſelf to be choſen Speaker, and was made Firſt Commiſſioner of the Great Seal: Being a Tory in principle, he undertook to manage that Party, provided he was furniſhed with ſuch ſums of money, as might purchaſe ſome Votes; and by him began the practice of buying off men, in which hitherto the King had kept to ſtricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the King of this method; he ſaid, he hated it as much as any man

1690. man could do; but he saw, it was not possible, considering the Corruption of the Age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole.

The Revenue given for years.

The House of Commons gave the King the Customs for five years, which they said made it a surer Fund, for borrowing money upon, than if they had given it for life: The one was subject to accidents, but the other was more certain. They also continued the other branches of the Revenue for the same number of years. It was much pressed to have it settled for life; but it was taken up as a general maxim, that a Revenue for a certain and short term, was the best security that the Nation could have for frequent Parliaments. The King did not like this: He said to my self, why should they entertain a jealousy of him, who came to save their Religion and Liberties; when they trusted King James so much, who intended to destroy both? I answered, they were not jealous of him, but of those who might succeed him; and if he would accept of the Gift for a term of years, and settle the Precedent, he would be reckoned the Deliverer of succeeding Ages, as well as of the present; and, it was certain, that King James would never have run into those Counsels that ruined him, if he had obtained the Revenue only for a short term; which probably would have been done, if Argyle's and Monmouth's Invasions had not so over-awed the House, that it would then have looked like being in a Conspiracy with them, to have opposed the King's demand: I saw the King was not pleased, tho' he was persuaded to accept of the Grant, thus made him. The Commons granted a Poll Bill, with some other Supplies, which they thought would answer all the occasions of that year: But as, what they gave, did not quite come up to what was demanded; so when the Supply was raised, it came far short of what they estimated it at. So that there were great Deficiencies to be taken care of, in every Session of

of Parliament; which run up every year, and made a great noiſe, as if the Nation was, thro' miſmanagement, running into a great Arrear. An Act paſſed in this Seſſion, putting the Adminiſtration in the Queen, during the King's abſence out of the Kingdom; but with this Proviſo, that the Orders which the King ſent ſhould always take place. In all this Debate, the Queen ſeemed to take no notice of the matter, nor of thoſe who had appeared for it, or againſt it: The Houſe of Commons, to the great grief of the Whigs, made an Addreſs to the King, thanking him for the Alterations he had made in the Lieutenancy of London. 1690.

Debates for and againſt an Abjuration of King James.

But the greateſt Debate in this Seſſion, was concerning an Abjuration of King James; ſome of the Tories were at firſt for it, as were all the Whigs: The Clergy were excepted out of it, to ſoften the oppoſition that might be made: But ſtill the main body of the Tories declared, they would never take any ſuch Oath: So they oppoſed every ſtep that was made in it, with a great copiouſneſs of long and vehement arguing: They inſiſted much on this; that when the Government was ſettled, Oaths were made to be the Ties of the Subject to it, and that all new Impoſitions were a Breach made on that, which might be called the Original Contract of the preſent Settlement: Things of that kind ought to be fixed and certain, and not mutable and endleſs: By the ſame reaſon, that the Abjuration was now propoſed, another Oath might be prepared every year; and every Party, that prevailed in Parliament, would bring in ſome diſcriminating Oath or Teſt, ſuch as could only be taken by thoſe of their own ſide: And thus the largeneſs and equality of Government would be loſt, and contracted into a Faction. On the other ſide it was ſaid, that this was only intended to be a ſecurity to the Government, during the War: For, in ſuch a time it ſeemed neceſſary,

1690. ceſſary, that all who were employed by the Government, ſhould give it all poſſible ſecurity: It was apparent, that the comprehenſive Words in the Oaths of Allegiance had given occaſion to much equivocation: Many who had taken them having declared, which ſome had done in print, that they conſidered themſelves as bound by the Oaths, only while the King continued in peaceable poſſeſſion; but not to aſſiſt or ſupport his Title, if it was attacked or ſhaken: It was therefore neceſſary, that men in publick Truſts ſhould be brought under ſtricter Ties. The Abjuration was debated in both Houſes, at the ſame time: I concurred with thoſe that were for it. The Whigs preſſed the King to ſet it forward: They ſaid, every one who took it, would look on himſelf as impardonable, and ſo would ſerve him with the more Zeal and Fidelity; whereas thoſe, that thought the Right to the Crown was ſtill in King James, might perhaps ſerve faithfully as long as the Government ſtood firm; but, as they kept ſtill meaſures with the other ſide, to whom they knew they would be always welcome, ſo they would never act with that life and zeal, which the preſent ſtate of affairs required. At the ſame time, the Tories were as earneſt in preſſing the King to ſtop the further progreſs of thoſe Debates: Much time was already loſt in them: And it was evident, that much more muſt be loſt, if it was intended to carry it on, ſince ſo many branches of this Bill, and incidents that aroſe upon the ſubject of it, would give occaſion to much heat and wrangling: And it was a doubt, whether it would be carried, after all the time that muſt be beſtowed on it, or not: Thoſe who oppoſed it would grow ſullen, and oppoſe every thing elſe that was moved for the King's ſervice: And, if it ſhould be carried, it would put the King again into the hands of the Whigs, who would immediately return to their old practices, againſt the Prerogative: And it would drive many into King James's

James's Party, who might otherwiſe ſtick firm to the King, or at leaſt be Neutrals. Theſe reaſons prevailed with the King, to order an Intimation to be given in the Houſe of Commons, that he deſired they would let that Debate fall, and go to other matters, that were more preſſing. 1690.

This gave a new diſguſt to the Whigs, but was very acceptable to the Tories; and it quickned the advances of Money upon the Funds that were given: It had indeed a very ill effect abroad: For both friends and enemies looked on it, as a ſign of a great decline in the King's Intereſt with his people: And the King's interpoſing, to ſtop further Debates in the matter, was repreſented, as an artifice only to ſave the affront of its being rejected. The Earl of Shrewſbury was at the head of thoſe who preſſed the Abjuration moſt; ſo, upon this change of Counſels, he thought, he could not ſerve the King longer with reputation or ſucceſs. He ſaw the Whigs, by uſing the King ill, were driving him into the Tories; and he thought, theſe would ſerve the King with more zeal, if he left his Poſt. The credit that the Marquis of Caermarthen had gained, was not eaſy to him: So he reſolved to deliver up the Seals. I was the firſt Perſon, to whom he diſcovered this; and he had them in his hands, when he told me of it: Yet I prevailed with him not to go that night: He was in ſome heat. I had no mind, that the King ſhould be ſurpriſed, by a thing of that kind; and I was afraid, that the Earl of Shrewſbury might have ſaid ſuch things to him, as ſhould have provoked him too much: So I ſent the King word of it. It troubled him more than I thought a thing of that ſort could have done: He loved the Earl of Shrewſbury; and apprehended, that his leaving his ſervice at this time, might alienate the Whigs more entirely from him: For now they, who thought him before of too cold a Temper, when they ſaw how firm he was, came to conſider and truſt

The Earl of Shrewſbury left the Court.

1690. truſt him more than ever. The King ſent Tillotſon, and all thoſe who had moſt credit with the Earl, to divert him from his Reſolution: But all was to no purpoſe. The agitation of mind that this gave him, threw him into a Fever, which almoſt coſt him his life. The King preſſed him to keep the Seals, till his return from Ireland, tho' he ſhould not act as Secretary: But he could not be prevailed on. The Debate, for the Abjuration, laſted longer in the Houſe of Lords; it had ſome Variation, from that which was propoſed in the Houſe of Commons; and was properly an Oath of a ſpecial Fidelity to the King, in oppoſition to King James: The Tories offered, in Bar to this, a Negative Engagement, againſt aſſiſting King James, or any of his Inſtruments, knowing them to be ſuch, with ſevere Penalties on ſuch as ſhould refuſe it. In oppoſition to this, it was ſaid, this was only an expedient to ſecure all King James's Party, whatever ſhould happen; ſince it left them the entire merit of being ſtill in his Intereſts, and only reſtrained them from putting any thing to hazard for him. The Houſe was ſo near an equality, in every Diviſion, that what was gained in one Day, was loſt in the next: And by the heat and length of thoſe Debates, the Seſſion continued till June. A Bill, projected by the Tories, paſſed, relating to the City of London, which was intended to change the hands that then governed it: But thro' the haſte or weakneſs of thoſe who drew it, the Court of Aldermen was not comprehended in it: So, by this Act, the Government of the City was fixed in their hands: And they were generally Whigs. Many diſcoveries were made of the practices from St. Germains and Ireland; but few were taken up upon them: And thoſe were too inconſiderable, to know more than, that many were provided with Arms and Ammunition, and that a method was projected, for bringing men together upon a call.

And

And indeed things ſeemed to be in a very ill diſpo- 1690.
ſition, towards a fatal Turn.

The King's ſenſe of Affairs.

The King was making all poſſible haſte to open the Campaign, as ſoon as things could be ready for it, in Ireland: The day before he ſet out, he called me into his Cloſet: He ſeemed to have a great weight upon his ſpirits, from the ſtate of his affairs, which was then very cloudy: He ſaid, for his own part, he truſted in God, and would either go thro' with his buſineſs, or periſh in it: He only pitied the poor Queen, repeating that twice with great tenderneſs, and wiſhed, that thoſe who loved him, would wait much on her, and aſſiſt her: He lamented much the factions and the heats that were among us, and that the Biſhops and Clergy, inſtead of allaying them, did rather foment and inflame them: But he was pleaſed to make an exception of myſelf: He ſaid, the going to a Campaign was naturally no unpleaſant thing to him: He was ſure, he underſtood that better, than how to govern England: He added, that, tho' he had no doubt nor miſtruſt of the cauſe he went on, yet the going againſt King James, in perſon, was hard upon him, ſince it would be a vaſt trouble both to himſelf and to the Queen, if he ſhould be either killed or taken Priſoner: He deſired my Prayers, and diſmiſſed me, very deeply affected with all he had ſaid.

The King's tenderneſs for King James's Perſon.

I had a particular occaſion to know, how tender he was of King James's perſon, having learnt an inſtance of it from the firſt hand: A propoſition was made to the King, that a third Rate Ship, well mann'd by a faithful Crew, and commanded by one, who had been well with King James, but was ſuch a one as the King might truſt, ſhould ſail to Dublin, and declare for King James. The perſon, who told me this, offered to be the man that ſhould carry the meſſage to King James (for he was well known to him) to invite him to come on Board, which he ſeemed to be ſure he would

1690. accept of; and, when he was aboard, they ſhould ſail away with him, and land him either in Spain or Italy, as the King ſhould deſire; and ſhould have twenty thouſand Pounds to give him, when he ſhould be ſet aſhore. The King thought it was a well formed deſign, and likely enough to ſucceed; but would not hearken to it: He ſaid he would have no hand in Treachery: And King James would certainly carry ſome of his Guards, and of his Court aboard with him: And probably they would make ſome oppoſition: And in the ſtruggle, ſome accident might happen to King James's Perſon; in which he would have no hand. I acquainted the Queen with this: And I ſaw in her a great tenderneſs for her Father's Perſon: And ſhe was much touched with the anſwer the King had made.

The King failed to Ireland.

He had a quick paſſage to Ireland, where matters had been kept, in the ſtate they were in, all this Winter: Charlemont was reduced, which was the only place in Ulſter that was then left in King James's hands. The King had a great Army; there were about 36,000 men, all in good plight, full of heart and zeal: He loſt no time, but advanced in ſix days from Belfaſt, where he landed, to the River of Boyne, near Drogheda. King James had abandoned the Paſſes between Newry and Dundalk, which are ſo ſtrait for ſome miles, that it had been eaſy to have diſputed every inch of ground. King James and his Court were ſo much lifted up, with the news of the Debates in Parliament, and of the diſtractions of the City of London, that they flattered themſelves with falſe hopes, that the King durſt not leave England, nor venture over to Ireland: He had been ſix days come, before King James knew any thing of it. Upon that, he immediately paſſed the Boyne, and lay on the South ſide of it. His Army conſiſted of 26,000 men: His Horſe were good; and he had 5000 French Foot, for whom he had ſent over,

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in exchange, 5000 Iriſh Foot. He held ſome Councils of War, to conſider what was fit to be done; whether he ſhould make a ſtand there, and put all to the deciſion of a Battle, or if he ſhould march off, and abandon that River, and by conſequence all the Country on to Dublin. 1690.

All his Officers, both French and Iriſh, who diſagreed almoſt in all their advices, yet agreed in this, that, tho' they had there a very advantageous Poſt to maintain, yet their Army being ſo much inferior, both in number, and in every thing elſe, they would put too much to hazard, if they ſhould venture on a Battle. They therefore propoſed the ſtrengthning their Garriſons, and marching off to the Shannon with the Horſe, and a ſmall body of Foot, till they ſhould ſee how matters went at Sea: For the French King had ſent them aſſurances, that he would, not only ſet out a great Fleet, but that, as ſoon as the Squadron that lay in the Iriſh Seas, to guard the Tranſport Fleet, and to ſecure the King's paſſage over, ſhould ſail into the Channel, to join our Grand Fleet, he would then ſend into the Iriſh Seas a Fleet of ſmall Frigates and Privateers, to deſtroy the King's Tranſports. This would have been fatal, if it had taken effect: And the executing of it ſeemed eaſy and certain. It would have ſhut up the King within Ireland, till a new Tranſport Fleet could have been brought thither, which would have been the work of ſome months: So that England might have been loſt, before he could have paſſed the Seas with his Army. And the deſtruction of his Tranſports muſt have ruined his Army: For his Stores, both of Bread and Ammunition, were ſtill on Board; and they ſailed along the Coaſt, as he advanced on his march: Nor was there, in all that Coaſt, a ſafe Port to cover and ſecure them. The King indeed reckoned, that by the time the Squadron, which lay in the Iriſh Seas, ſhould be able to join the reſt of the Fleet, they would have advanced as far as Advices given to King James.

1690. the Chops of the Channel, where they would guard both England and Ireland: But things went far otherwiſe.

The Queen in the Adminiſtration.

The Queen was now in the Adminiſtration. It was a new ſcene to her: She had, for above ſixteen months, made ſo little figure in Buſineſs, that thoſe, who imagined, that every Woman of ſenſe loved to be meddling, concluded that ſhe had a ſmall proportion of it, becauſe ſhe lived ſo abſtracted from all Affairs. Her behaviour was indeed very exemplary: She was exactly regular, both in her private and publick devotions: She was much in her cloſet, and read a great deal: She was often buſy at work, and ſeemed to employ her time and thoughts in any thing, rather than matters of State: Her converſation was lively and obliging: Every thing in her was eaſy and natural: She was ſingular in great Charities to the Poor; of whom, as there are always great numbers about Courts, ſo the crouds of Perſons of Quality, that had fled over from Ireland, drew from her liberal Supplies: All this was nothing to the Publick. If the King talked with her of Affairs, it was in ſo private a way, that few ſeemed to believe it: The Earl of Shrewſbury told me, that the King had, upon many Occaſions, ſaid to him, that tho' he could not hit on the right way of pleaſing England, he was confident ſhe would; and that we ſhould all be very happy under her. The King named a Cabinet Council of eight Perſons, on whoſe Advice ſhe was chiefly to rely: Four of them were Tories, and four were Whigs: Yet the Marquiſs of Caermarthen and the Earl of Nottingham, being of the firſt ſort, who took moſt upon them, and ſeemed to have the greateſt credit, the Whigs were not ſatisfied with the Nomination. The Queen balanced all things, with an extraordinary Temper; and became univerſally beloved and admired by all about her.

Our

Our concerns at Sea were then the chief thing to be looked to: An unhappy compliment, of sending a Fleet to convoy a Queen to Spain, proved almost fatal to us. They were so long delay'd by contrary winds, that a design of blocking up Toulon, was lost by it. The great Ships, that lay there, had got out before our Fleet could reach the place. Our Squadron returned back, and went into Plymouth to refit there: And it was joined by that, which came from the Irish Seas. These two Squadrons consisted of above thirty Ships of the line: The Earl of Torrington, that had the chief command, was a man of pleasure, and did not make the haste that was necessary, to go about and join them: Nor did the Dutch Fleet come over so soon as was promised: So that our main Fleet lay long at Spithead. The French understood that our Fleets lay thus divided, and saw the advantage of getting between them: So they came into the Channel, with so fair a Wind, that they were near the Isle of Wight, before our Fleet had any advice of their being within the Channel. The Earl of Torrington had no advice Boats out to bring him News: And tho' notice thereof was sent post over Land, as soon as the French came within the Channel, yet their Fleet sailed as fast as the Post could ride: But then the Wind turned upon them; otherwise they would, in all probability, have surprised us. But after this first advantage, the Winds were always contrary to them, and favourable to us. So that the French Officers in Ireland, had reason to look for that Fleet of smaller Vessels, which was promised to be sent, to destroy the King's Transport Ships. And for these reasons, all King James's Officers were against bringing the War to so speedy a decision. 1690. Affairs at Sea.

In opposition to all their Opinions, King James himself was positive, that they must stay and defend the Boyne: If they marched off and aban-

1690. doned Dublin, they would ſo loſe their reputation, that the people would leave them, and capitulate: It would alſo diſpirit all their Friends in England: Therefore he reſolved to maintain the Poſt he was in, and ſeemed not a little pleaſed to think, that he ſhould have one fair Battle for his Crown. He ſpoke this with ſo much ſeeming pleaſure, that many about him apprehended, that he was weary of the ſtruggle, and even of Life, and longed to ſee an end of it at any rate: And they were afraid that he would play the Hero a little too much. He had all the advantages he could deſire: The River was deep, and roſe very high with the Tide: There was a Moraſs to be paſs'd, after the paſſing the River, and then a riſing ground.

A Cannon Ball wounded the King.

On the laſt of June, the King came to the Banks of the River: And as he was riding along, and making a long ſtop in one place, to obſerve the Grounds, the Enemy did not loſe their opportunity, but brought down two pieces of Cannon: And, with the firſt firing, a Ball paſſed along the King's Shoulder, tore off ſome of his Cloaths, and about a hand-breadth of the Skin, out of which about a ſpoonful of Blood came. And that was all the harm it did him. It cannot be imagined, how much terror this ſtruck into all, that were about him: He himſelf ſaid, it was nothing: Yet he was prevailed on to alight, till it was waſhed, and a plaiſter put upon it, and immediately he mounted his Horſe again, and rode about all the Poſts of his Army: It was indeed neceſſary to ſhew himſelf every where, to take off the apprehenſions, with which ſuch an unuſual accident filled his Soldiers. He continued that day, nineteen hours on horſeback: But upon his firſt alighting from his horſe, a Deſerter had gone over to the Enemy with the news, which was carried quickly into France, where it was taken for granted, that he could not out-live ſuch a wound: So it ran over that Kingdom, that he was dead. And upon it, there were more pub-

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lick rejoicings, than had been uſual upon their greateſt Victories: Which gave that Court afterwards a vaſt Confuſion, when they knew that he was ſtill alive; and ſaw, that they had raiſed, in their own people, a high opinion of him, by this inhuman joy, when they believed him dead. 1690.

But to return to the action of the Boyne: The King ſent a great body of Cavalry, to paſs the River higher, while he reſolved to paſs it in the face of the Enemy: And the Duke of Schomberg was to paſs it in a third place, a little below him. I will not enter into the particulars of that day's action, but leave that to Military men.

The Battle of the Boyne.

It was a compleat Victory: And thoſe, who were the leaſt diſpoſed to Flattery, ſaid, it was almoſt wholly due to the King's Courage and Conduct. And, tho' he was a little ſtiff by reaſon of his Wound, yet he was forced to quit his Horſe in the Moraſs, and to go through it on foot: But he came up in time, to ride almoſt into every body of his Army: He charged in many different places: And nothing ſtood before him. The Iriſh Horſe made ſome reſiſtance, but the Foot threw down their Arms, and ran away. The moſt amazing Circumſtance was, that King James ſtaid all the while with his Guards, at a ſafe diſtance, and never came into the places of Danger or of Action. And, when he ſaw his Army was every where giving ground, was the firſt that ran for it, and reached Dublin, before the action was quite over; for it was dark before the King forſook the purſuit of the Iriſh. His Horſe and Dragoons were ſo weary, with the fatigue of a long action in a hot day, that they could not purſue far; nor was their Camp furniſhed with neceſſary refreſhments, till next morning; for the King had marched faſter, than the waggons could poſſibly follow. The Army of the Iriſh were ſo entirely forſaken by their Officers, that the King thought they would have diſperſed themſelves,

1690. and ſubmitted; and that the following them would have been a mere butchery, which was a thing he had always abhorred. The only allay to this Victory was the loſs of the Duke of Schomberg: He paſſed the River in his Station, and was driving the Iriſh before him, when a party of deſperate men ſet upon him, as he was riding very careleſly, with a ſmall number about him. They charged, and in the diſorder of that Action he was ſhot: But it could not be known by whom; for moſt of all the Party was cut off. Thus that great man, like another Epaminondas, fell on the day, in which his ſide triumphed.

King James came to Dublin, under a very indecent Conſternation: He ſaid, all was loſt; He had an Army in England, that could have fought, but would not: and now he had an Army, that would have fought, but could not. This was not very gratefully, nor decently ſpoken by him, who was among the firſt that fled. Next morning he left Dublin: He ſaid, too much Blood had been already ſhed; It ſeemed, God was with their Enemies; The Prince of Orange was a merciful Man: So he ordered thoſe, he left behind him, to ſet the Priſoners at liberty, and to ſubmit to the Prince: He rode that day from Dublin to Duncannon Fort: But, tho' the place was conſiderably ſtrong, he would not truſt to that, but lay aboard a French Ship, that anchored there, and had been provided, by his own ſpecial directions to Sir Patrick Trant. His Courage ſunk with his Affairs, to a degree, that amazed thoſe, who had known the former Parts of his Life. The Iriſh Army was forſaken by their Officers for two days: If there had been a hot purſuit, it would have put an end to the War of Ireland: But the King thought his firſt care ought to be to ſecure Dublin: And King James's Officers, as they abandoned it, went back to the Army, only in hopes of a good Capitulation. Dublin was thus

forſaken; and no harm done, which was much apprehended: But the fear the Iriſh were in was ſuch, that they durſt not venture on any thing, which muſt have drawn ſevere revenges after it. So the Proteſtants there, being now the Maſters, they declared for the King. Drogheda did alſo capitulate. 1690.

The Battle of Flerus.

But, to balance this great ſucceſs, the King had, the very day after the Battle at the Boyne, the news of a Battle fought in Flanders, between Prince Waldeck and the Marſhal Luxembourg, in which the former was defeated. The Cavalry did at the firſt charge run, but the Foot made an amazing ſtand. The French had the honour of a Victory, and took many Priſoners, with the Artillery: Yet the ſtand the Infantry made was ſuch, that they loſt more than they got by the day: Nor were they able to draw any advantage from it. This was the Battle of Flerus, that, in the Conſequence of it, proved the means of preſerving England.

An Engagement at Sea.

On the day before the Battle of the Boyne, the two Fleets came to a great Engagement at Sea. The Squadron, that lay at Plymouth, could not come up to join the great Fleet, the Wind being contrary; So it was under debate, what was fitteſt to be done: The Earl of Torrington thought he was not ſtrong enough, and adviſed his coming in, till ſome more Ships, that were fitting out, ſhould be ready: Some began to call his courage in queſtion, and imputed this to fear; They thought, this would too much exalt our Enemies, and diſcourage our Allies, if we left the French to triumph at Sea, and to be the maſters of our Coaſt and Trade; For our Merchants richeſt Ships were coming home; ſo that the leaving them, in ſuch a ſuperiority, would be both very unbecoming, and very miſchievous to us. The Queen ordered Ruſſel to adviſe, both with the Navy Board, and with all that under-

1690. ſtood Sea affairs; And, upon a view of the ſtrength of both Fleets, they were of opinion, that tho' the French were ſuperior in Number, yet our Fleet was ſo equal in ſtrength to them, that it was reaſonable to ſend orders to our Admiral, to venture on an Engagement: Yet the Orders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was left to a Council of War. The two Fleets engaged near Beachy in Suſſex: The Dutch led the Van; and, to ſhew their courage, they advanced too far out of the Line, and fought, in the beginning, with ſome advantage, the French plying before them: And our Blue Squadron engaged bravely: But the Earl of Torrington kept in his Line, and continued to fight at a diſtance: The French, ſeeing the Dutch came out ſo far before the Line, fell on them furiouſly, both in front and flank, which the Earl of Torrington neglected for ſome time; And, when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, the calm was ſuch, that he could not come up. The Dutch ſuffered much, and their whole Fleet had periſhed, if their Admiral, Calembourg, had not ordered them to drop their Anchors, while their Sails were all up: This was not obſerved by the French: So they were carried by the Tide, while the others lay ſtill: And thus in a few minutes the Dutch were out of danger. They loſt many men, and ſunk ſome of their Ships, which had ſuffered the moſt, that they might not fall into the Enemies hands. It was now neceſſary to order the Fleet to come in, with all poſſible haſte: Both the Dutch and the Blue Squadron complained much of the Earl of Torrington: And it was a general opinion, that if the whole Fleet had come up to a cloſe Fight, we muſt have beat the French: And, conſidering how far they were from Breſt, and that our Squadron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a Victory might have had great conſequences. Our Fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken

broken into factions: And if the French had not loſt the night's Tide, but had followed us cloſe, they might have deſtroyed many of our Ships: Both the Admirals were almoſt equally blamed: Ours for not fighting, and the French for not purſuing his Victory. 1690.

Our Fleet came in ſafe: And all poſſible diligence was uſed in refitting it: The Earl of Torrington was ſent to the Tower, and Three of our beſt Sea Officers had the joint command of the Fleet: But it was a Month before they could ſet out: And, in all that time, the French were maſters of the Sea, and our Coaſts were open to them. If they had followed the firſt conſternation, and had fallen to the burning our Sea Towns, they might have done us much miſchief, and put our affairs in great diſorder; for we had not above ſeven thouſand men then in England. The Militia was raiſed, and ſuſpected perſons were put in priſon: In this melancholy conjuncture, tho' the Harveſt drew on, ſo that it was not convenient for people, to be long abſent from their labour, yet the Nation expreſſed more zeal and affection to the Government, than was expected: And the Jacobites, all England over, kept out of the way, and were afraid of being fallen upon by the Rabble. We had no great loſſes at Sea; for moſt of our Merchant-men came ſafe into Plymouth: The French ſtood over, for ſome time, to their own Coaſt: And we had many falſe alarms of their ſhipping Troops, in order to a Deſcent. But they had ſuffered ſo much, in the Battle at Flerus, and the Dutch uſed ſuch diligence, in putting their Army in a condition to take the Field again, and the Elector of Brandenburg, bringing his Troops to act in conjunction with theirs, gave the French ſo much work, that they were forced, for all their Victory, to lie upon the defenſive, and were not able to ſpare ſo many men, as were neceſſary for an Invaſion. The Dutch did indeed ſend poſitive orders

The French maſters of the Sea.

1690. orders to Prince Waldeck, not to hazard another Engagement, till the Fleet ſhould be again at Sea: This reſtrained the Elector, who, in conjunction with the Dutch, was much ſuperior to Luxembourg: And afterwards, when the Dutch ſuperſeded thoſe Orders, the Elector did not think fit to hazard his Army. Such is the fate of Confederate Armies, when they are under a different direction; that when the one is willing, or at leaſt ſeems to be ſo, the other ſtands off. The French riding ſo long, ſo quietly in our Seas, was far from what might have been expected, after ſuch an advantage: We underſtood afterwards, that they were ſtill waiting, when the Jacobites ſhould, according to their promiſes, have begun a Riſing in England: But they excuſed their failing in that, becauſe their Leaders were generally clapp'd up.

That Party began to boaſt, all England over, that it was viſible that the French meant no harm to the Nation; but only to bring back King James; ſince now, tho' our Coaſts lay open to them, they did us no harm. And this might have made ſome impreſſion, if the French had not effectually refuted it. Their Fleet lay for ſome days in Torbay: Their Equipages were weakned: And by a veſſel, that carried a Pacquet from Tourville, to the Court of France, which was taken, it appeared, that they were then in ſo bad a condition, that if our Fleet (which upon this was haſtened out all that was poſſible) could have overtaken them, we ſhould have got a great Victory very cheap. But before they ſailed, they made a Deſcent on a miſerable Village, called Tinmouth, that happen'd to belong to a Papiſt: They burnt it, and a few Fiſher-Boats that belonged to it: But the Inhabitants got away; and, as a Body of Militia was marching thither, the French made great haſte back to their Ships: The French publiſhed this in their Gazettes, with much

much pomp, as if it had been a great Trading Town, that had many Ships, with ſome Men of War in Port: This both render'd them ridiculous, and ſerved to raiſe the hatred of the Nation againſt them; for every Town, on the Coaſt, ſaw what they muſt expect, if the French ſhould prevail. 1690.

The Queen's behaviour upon this occaſion.

In all this time of fear and diſorder, the Queen ſhewed an extraordinary firmneſs: For tho' ſhe was full of diſmal thoughts, yet ſhe put on her ordinary cheerfulneſs, when ſhe appeared in publick, and ſhewed no indecent concern: I ſaw her all that while once a week: For I ſtaid that Summer at Windſor: Her behaviour was, in all reſpects, heroical: She apprehended the greatneſs of our danger: But ſhe committed herſelf to God: And was reſolved to expoſe herſelf, if occaſion ſhould require it: For ſhe told me, ſhe would give me leave to wait on her, if ſhe was forced to make a Campaign in England, while the King was in Ireland.

The King came to Dublin.

Whilſt the misfortunes in Flanders, and at Sea, were putting us in no ſmall agitation, the news firſt of the King's preſervation from the Cannon ball, and then of the Victory, gained the day after, put another face on our Affairs: The Earl of Nottingham told me, that when he carried the news to the Queen, and acquainted her in a few words, that the King was well; that he had gained an entire Victory; and that the late King had eſcaped; he obſerved her Looks, and found that the laſt Article made her joy compleat, which ſeemed in ſome ſuſpence, till ſhe underſtood that. The Queen and Council, upon this, ſent to the King, preſſing him to come over with all poſſible haſte; ſince, as England was of more importance, ſo the ſtate of Affairs required his Preſence here: For it was hoped, the Reduction of Ireland would be now eaſily brought about. The King, as he received the news of the Battle of Flerus,

1690. Flerus, the day after the Victory at the Boyne, ſo on the day, in which he entred Dublin, he had the news of the misfortune at Sea, to temper the joy, that his own Succeſſes might give him: He had taken all the Earl of Tyrconnel's papers in the Camp: And he found all King James's papers, left behind him in Dublin: By theſe he underſtood the deſign, the French had of burning his Tranſport Fleet, which was therefore firſt to be taken care of: And ſince the French were now Maſters at Sea, he ſaw nothing that could hinder the execution of that Deſign.

A deſign to aſſaſſinate the King.

Among the Earl of Tyrconnel's papers, there was one Letter writ to Queen Mary at St. Germains, the night before the Battle: But it was not ſent. In it, he ſaid, he looked on all as loſt: And ended it thus: "I have now no hope in any thing but in Jones's buſineſs." The Marquiſs of Caermarthen told me, that ſome weeks before the King went to Ireland, he had received an advertiſement, that one named Jones, an Iriſh man, who had ſerved ſo long in France and Holland, that he ſpoke both Languages well, was to be ſent over to murder the King. And Sir Robert Southwell told me, that he, as Secretary of State for Ireland, had looked into all Tyrconnel's papers, and the copies of the Letters he wrote to Queen Mary, which he had ſtill in his poſſeſſion: And he gave me the Copies of two of them. In one of theſe he writes, that Jones was come; that his propoſition was more probable, and liker to ſucceed, than any yet made: His demands were high; but he added, "if any thing can be high for ſuch a ſervice." In another he writes, that Jones had been with the King, who did not like the thing at firſt: But he added, we have now ſo ſatisfied him both in Conſcience and Honour, that every thing is done that Jones deſires. Southwell further told me, that Deagle the Attorney-General, had furniſhed him with money, and a

Poignard of a particular compoſition; and that they ſought long for a Bible, bound without a Common Prayer Book, which he was to carry in his pocket, that ſo he might paſs, if ſeized on, for a Diſſenter. Some perſons of great quality waited on him to the Boat, that was to carry him over: He was for ſome time delayed in Dublin; and the King had paſſed over to Ireland, before he could reach him: We could never hear of him more: So it is likely he went away with his money. A paper was drawn of all this matter, and deſigned to be publiſhed: But, upon ſecond thoughts, the King and Queen had that tenderneſs for King James, that they ſtopp'd the publiſhing to the world ſo ſhameful a practice. The King ſaid, upon this, to myſelf, that God had preſerved him out of many dangers, and he truſted he would ſtill preſerve him: He was ſure he was not capable of retaliating in that way. The eſcape of a Cannon Ball, that touched him, was ſo ſignal, that it ſwallowed up leſſer ones: Yet, in the Battle at the Boyne, a Muſket Ball ſtruck the Heel of his Boot, and recoiling, killed a Horſe near him: And one of his own men, miſtaking him for an Enemy, came up to ſhoot him: but he gently put by his piſtol, and only ſaid, "Do not you know your friends?" 1690.

At Dublin he publiſhed a Proclamation of Grace, offering to all the inferior ſort of the Iriſh, their Lives and perſonal Eſtates, reſerving the conſideration of the real Eſtates of the better ſort to a Parliament, and indemnifying them only for their Lives: It was hoped, that the fulneſs of the pardon of the Commons might have ſeparated them from the Gentry; and that, by this means, they would be ſo forſaken, that they would accept of ſuch terms, as ſhould be offered them. The King had intended to have made the Pardon more comprehenſive; hoping, by that, to bring the War ſoon to an end: But the Engliſh in Ireland

1690. land oppoſed this. They thought the preſent opportunity was not to be let go, of breaking the great Iriſh Families, upon whom the inferior ſort would always depend. And, in compliance with them, the Indemnity, now offered, was ſo limited, that it had no effect: For the Prieſts, who governed the Iriſh with a very blind and abſolute authority, prevailed with them to try their fortunes ſtill. The news of the Victory the French had at Sea, was ſo magnified among them, that they made the people believe, that they would make ſuch a Deſcent upon England, as muſt oblige the King to abandon Ireland. The King was preſſed to purſue the Iriſh, who had retired to Athlone and Limerick, and were now joined by their Officers, and ſo brought again into ſome order: But the main concern was, to put the Tranſport Fleet in a ſafe ſtation. And that could not be had, till the King was maſter of Waterford, and Duncannon Fort, which commanded the entrance into the River: Both theſe places capitulated; and the Tranſports were brought thither. But they were not now ſo much in danger, as the King had reaſon to apprehend; for King James, when he ſailed away from Duncannon, was forced, by contrary winds, to go into the Road of Kinſale, where he found ſome French Frigates, that were already come to burn our Fleet: He told them, it was now too late, all was loſt in Ireland. So he carried them back, to convoy him over to France; where he had but a cold reception: For the miſcarriage of affairs in Ireland, was imputed both to his ill conduct, and his want of courage. He fell under much contempt of the people of France: Only that King continued ſtill to behave himſelf decently towards him.

The King ſent his army towards the Shannon; and he himſelf came to Dublin, intending, as he was adviſed, to go over to England: But he found there Letters of another ſtrain: Things were in ſo good

good a posture, and so quiet in England, that they were no more in any apprehension of a Descent: So the King went back to his Army, and marched towards Limerick. Upon this Lausun, who commanded the French, left the Town; and sent his equipage to France, which perished in the Shannon. It was hoped, that Limerick, seeing itself thus abandoned, would have followed the example of other Towns, and have capitulated. Upon that confidence, the King marched towards it, tho' his Army was now much diminished: He had left many Garrisons in several places, and had sent some of his best Bodies over to England: So that he had not now above 20000 men together. Limerick lies on both sides of the Shannon, and on an Island, that the River makes there: The Irish were yet in great numbers in Connaught; so that, unless they had been shut up on that side, it was easy to send in a constant supply both of men and provisions: Nor did it seem advisable to undertake the Siege of a place so situated, with so small an Army, especially in that season, in which it used to rain long, and by that means, both the Shannon would swell, and the ground, which was the best soil of Ireland, would be apt to become deep, and scarce practicable for carriages. Yet the cowardice of the Irish, the consternation they were in, and their being abandoned by the French, made the King resolve to sit down before it. Their Out-works might have been defended for some time: But they abandoned these in so much disorder, that it was from hence believed, they would not hold out long. They also abandoned the Posts, which they had on the other side of the Shannon: Upon which, the King past the River, which was then very low, and viewed those Posts: but he had not men to maintain them: So he continued to press the Town on the Munster side. 1690. The Siege of Limerick.

He sent for some more Ammunition, and some great Guns: They had only a guard of two Troops of

1690. of Horſe, to convoy them, who deſpiſed the Iriſh ſo much, and thought they were at ſuch diſtance, that they ſet their Horſes to graſs, and went to bed. Sarsfield, one of the beſt Officers of the Iriſh, heard that the King rode about very careleſly, and upon that, had got a ſmall Body of reſolute men together, on deſign to ſeize his perſon: But now, hearing of this Convoy, he reſolved to cut it off: The King had advertiſement of this brought him in time, and ordered ſome more Troops to be ſent, to ſecure the Convoy: They, either through Treachery or Careleſneſs, did not march till it was night, tho' their orders were for the morning; but they came a few hours too late. Sarsfield ſurpriſed the Party, deſtroyed the Ammunition, broke the Carriages, and burſt one of the Guns, and ſo marched off. Lanier, whom the King had ſent with the Party, might have overtaken him; but the general obſervation made of him (and of moſt of thoſe Officers, who had ſerved King James, and were now on the King's ſide) was, that they had a greater mind to make themſelves rich, by the continuance of the War of Ireland, than their Maſter great and ſafe by the ſpeedy concluſion of it.

By this, the King loſt a Week, and his Ammunition was low; for a great ſupply, that was put on Ship Board in the River of Thames, before the King left London, ſtill remained there, the French being Maſters of the Channel. Yet the King preſſed the Town ſo hard, that the Trenches were run up to the Counterſcarp: And when they came to lodge there, the Iriſh ran back ſo faſt, at a Breach that the Cannon had made, that a body of the King's men run in after them: And if they had been ſeconded, the Town had been immediately taken; but none came in time, ſo they retired: And tho' the King ſent another body, yet they were beaten back with loſs. As it now began to rain, the King ſaw that, if he ſtaid longer there, he

he must leave his great Artillery behind him: 1690.
He went into the Trenches every day; and it was thought he exposed himself too much. His Tent was pitched within the reach of their Cannon; they shot often over it, and beat down a Tent very near it; so he was prevailed on, to let it be removed to a greater distance: Once, upon receiving a packet from England, he sat down in the open Field for some hours, reading his Letters, while the Cannon Balls were flying round about him. The Irish fired well; and shewed, they had some courage, when they were behind Walls, how little soever they had shewn in the Field.

The King lay three Weeks before Limerick; but at last the rains forced him to raise the Siege: They within did not offer to sally out, and disorder the Retreat: This last action proving unlucky, had much damped the joy, that was raised by the first success of this Campaign. The King expressed a great equality of temper, upon the various accidents that happened at this time. Dr. Hutton, his first Physician, who took care to be always near him, told me, He had observed his Behaviour very narrowly, upon two very different occasions. The Siege raised.

The one was, after the return from the Victory at the Boyne; when it was almost midnight, after he had been seventeen hours in constant fatigue, with all the stiffness that his Wound gave him: He expressed neither joy, nor any sort of Vanity; only he looked chearful; and when those about him made such Compliments, as will be always made to Princes, even tho' they do not deserve them, he put all that by, with such an unaffected neglect, that it appeared how much soever he might deserve the acknowledgments that were made him, yet he did not like them. And this was so visible to all about him, that they soon saw, that the way to make their Court was, neither to talk of his Wound, nor of his Behaviour on that day. As soon as he saw his Physician, he ordered

1690. him to see that care should be taken of the wounded men, and he named the Prisoners, as well as his own Soldiers. And tho' he had great reason to be offended with Hamilton, who had been employed to treat with the Earl of Tyrconnel, and was taken prisoner in his sight, and was preserved by his order; yet since he saw he was wounded, he gave particular directions to look after him. Upon the whole matter, the King was as grave and silent as he used to be; and the joy of a day, that had been both so happy and so glorious to him, did not seem to alter his temper or deportment in any way.

The equality of the King's temper.

He told me, he was also near him, when it was resolved to raise the Siege of Limerick; and saw the same calm, without the least depression, disorder, or peevishness: From this he concluded, that either his mind was so happily balanced, that no accident could put it out of that situation; or that, if he had commotions within, he had a very extraordinary command over his temper, in restraining or concealing them.

The Earl of Marlborough proposes the taking Cork and Kinsale in Winter, and effects it.

While he lay before Limerick, he had news from England, that our Fleet was now out, and that the French were gone to Brest: So, since we were Masters of the Sea, the Earl of Marlborough proposed, that five thousand men, who had lain idle all this Summer in England, should be sent to Ireland; and with the assistance of such men as the King should order to join them, they should try to take Cork and Kinsale. The King approved of this; and ordered the Earl to come over with them: And he left orders for about five thousand more, who were to join him. And so he broke up this Campaign, and came over to Bristol, and from thence to London. The contrary winds stopp'd the Earl of Marlborough so, that it was October before he got to Ireland. He soon took Cork by storm; and four thousand men, that lay there in garrison, were made prisoners of War.

In this action, the Duke of Grafton received a ſhot, of which he died in a few Days: He was the more lamented, as being the perſon of all King Charles's Children, of whom there was the greateſt hope: He was brave, and probably would have become a great man at Sea. From Cork, the Earl of Marlborough marched to Kinſale, where he found the two Forts, that commanded the Port, to be ſo much ſtronger, than the Plans had repreſented them to be, that he told me, if he had known their true ſtrength, he had never undertaken the expedition, in a ſeaſon ſo far advanced; yet in a few days the place capitulated. The Iriſh drew their forces together, but durſt not venture on raiſing the Siege; but to divert it, they ſet the Country about, which was the beſt built of any in Ireland, all in a flame. 1690.

Thus, thoſe two important places were reduced in a very bad ſeaſon, and with very little loſs; which cut off the quick communication between France and Ireland. Count Lauſun, with the French Troops, lay all this while about Gallway, without attempting any thing: He ſent over, to France, an account of the deſperate ſtate of their affairs, and deſired Ships might be ſent for the Tranſport of their Forces: That was done; yet the Ships came not till the Siege of Limerick was raiſed: Probably, if the Court of France had known, how much the ſtate of affairs was altered, they would have ſent contrary orders: But Lauſun was weary of the ſervice, and was glad to get out of it; ſo he ſailed away, without ſtaying for new orders; by which he loſt the little reputation, that he was beginning to recover at the Court of France. The Earl of Tyrconnel went over with him, and gave full aſſurances, that tho' the Iriſh were like to ſuffer great hardſhips next winter; yet they would ſtand it out, if they were ſtill ſupported from France. It had appeared, upon many occaſions, that the French and the Iriſh Soldiers did not

The French left Ireland.

1690. agree well together: therefore he propoſed, that no more Soldiers, but only a number of good Officers, together with Arms, Ammunition, and Clothes, might be ſent over to them. In the mean while, the Iriſh formed themſelves into many bodies, which by a new name, were called Rapparees: Theſe knowing all the Ways, and the Boggs, and other Places of Retreat in Ireland, and being favoured by the Iriſh, that had ſubmitted to the King, robbed and burnt Houſes in many places of the Country; while the King's Army ſtudied their own eaſe in their quarters, more than the Protection of the Inhabitants: Many of them were ſuſpected of robbing in their turn, tho' the Rapparees carried the blame of all: Between them, the poor Inhabitants had a ſad time, and their ſtock of Cattle and Corn was almoſt quite deſtroyed in many places.

Affairs in Scotland.

From the Affairs of Ireland, I turn next to give an account of what paſſed in Scotland: Matters went very happily, as to the military part: When the Remnants of the Earl of Dundee's Army (to whom many Officers, together with Ammunition and Money, had been ſent from Ireland) began to move towards the Low Country, to receive thoſe, who were reſolved to join with them, and were between two and three thouſand ſtrong, they were fallen upon, and entirely defeated by a Dutch Officer Levingſton, that commanded the Forces in Scotland: About an hundred Officers were taken Priſoners: This broke all the meaſures, that had been taken for King James's Intereſts in Scotland. Upon this, thoſe who had engaged in Montgomery's Plot, looked upon that Deſign as deſperate: yet they reſolved to try what ſtrength they could make in Parliament.

Lord Melvill carried down Powers, firſt to offer to Duke Hamilton, if he would join in common meaſures heartily with him, to be Commiſſioner in Parliament, or if he proved intractable, as indeed he

he did, to ſerve in that Poſt himſelf. He had full Inſtructions for the Settlement of Preſbytery; for he aſſured the King, that without that, it would be impoſſible to carry any thing; Only the King would not conſent to the taking away the Rights of Patronage, and the Supremacy of the Crown: Yet he found theſe ſo much inſiſted on, that he ſent one to the King to Ireland, for fuller inſtructions in thoſe Points; they were enlarged, but in ſuch general words, that the King did not underſtand, that his Inſtructions could warrant what Lord Melvill did; for he gave them both up. And the King was ſo offended with him for it, that he loſt all the credit he had with him; tho' the King did not think fit to diſown him, or to call him to an account, for going beyond his Inſtructions. 1690.

A Parliament there.

The Jacobites perſwaded all their Party to go to the Parliament, and to take the Oaths; for many of the Nobility ſtood off, and would not own the King, nor ſwear to him: Great Pains were taken by Paterſon, one of their Archbiſhops, to perſwade them to take the Oaths, but on deſign to break them; for he thought, by that means, they could have a majority in Parliament; tho' ſome of the Laity were too honeſt to agree to ſuch Advices; but with all theſe wicked arts, they were not able to carry a majority. So other things failing, they ſaw a neceſſity of deſiring a Force to be ſent over from France: This appeared ſo odious, and ſo deſtructive to their Country, that ſome of them refuſed to concur in it: Others were not pleaſed with the anſwers King James had ſent to the Propoſitions, they had made him. He had indeed granted all that they had aſked, upon their own particular Intereſts, and had promiſed to ſettle Preſbytery; but he rejected all thoſe demands, that imported a diminution of his Prerogative, in as firm a manner, as if he had been already ſet on the Throne again: They propoſed, finding his anſwer

1690. so little to their satisfaction, to send him a second message.

A Plot discovered.

Upon this, the Earls of Argyle, Annandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from them: Annandale came up to the Bath, pretending his ill health: Both Lord Argyle and Braidalbin went to Chester, pretending, as they said afterwards, that they intended to discover the whole matter to the King; but he had passed over to Ireland, before they got to Chester. Montgomery upon this, looked on the design as broken; and so he went and reconciled himself to Melvill, and discovered the whole Negotiation to him. Upon which, the Earl of Melvill pressed the King to grant a general Indemnity, and gave Montgomery a Pass to go to London; and he wrote to the Queen in his Favour. But the King was resolved to know the bottom of the Plot, and particularly how far any of the English were engaged in it: So Montgomery absconded for some time in London, since he saw no hopes of pardon, but upon a full discovery. A Warrant was sent to the Bath for the Earl of Annandale, of which he had notice given him, and went up privately to London. Montgomery sent Ferguson to him, assuring him, that he had discovered nothing, and desiring him to continue firm and secret: But when he had certain notice, that Montgomery had discovered all the Negotiation among the Scotch, he cast himself on the Queen's mercy, asking no other conditions, but that he might not be made an evidence against others. He himself had not treated with any in England, so, as to them, he was only a second-hand Witness; only he informed against Nevil Payne, who had been sent down to Scotland, to manage matters among them: He was taken there, but would confess nothing: Upon the Earl of Annandale's information, which he gave upon Oath, the Earl of Nottingham wrote to the Council of Scotland, that he had

had in his hands a Depoſition upon Oath, containing Matter of High Treaſon againſt Payne; upon which it was pretended, that, according to the Law of Scotland, he might be put to the torture: and that was executed with rigour: He reſiſted a double queſtion, yet was ſtill kept a priſoner; and this was much cried out on, as barbarous and illegal. Montgomery lay hid for ſome months at London; but when he ſaw he could not have his pardon, but by making a full diſcovery, he choſe rather to go beyond Sea: So fatally did Ambition and Diſcontent hurry a Man to ruin, who ſeemed capable of greater things. His art in managing ſuch a deſign, and his firmneſs in not diſcovering his Accomplices, raiſed his character, as much as it ruined his fortune. He continued in perpetual Plots after this, to no purpoſe: He was once taken, but made his eſcape; and at laſt, ſpleen and vexation put an end to a turbulent life. 1690.

The Lord Melvill had now a clear majority in Parliament, by the diſcovery of the Plot; ſome abſented themſelves; and others, to redeem themſelves, were compliant in all things: The main point, by which Melvill deſigned to fix himſelf, and his party, was, the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, and the ſetting up of Presbytery. The one was ſoon done, by repealing all the laws in favour of Epiſcopacy, and declaring it contrary to the genius and conſtitution of that Church and Nation; for the King would not conſent to a plain and ſimple condemnation of it. But it was not ſo eaſy to ſettle Preſbytery: If they had followed the pattern, ſet them in the Year 1638, all the Clergy, in a parity, were to aſſume the government of the Church; but thoſe being Epiſcopal, they did not think it ſafe to put the power of the Church in ſuch hands; therefore it was pretended, that ſuch of the Preſbyterian Miniſters, as had been turned out in the Year 1662, ought to be conſidered, as the only ſound part of the Church; and of theſe there happened

1609. ed to be then threeſcore alive: ſo the government of the Church was lodged with them; and they were empowered, to take to their aſſiſtance, and to a ſhare in the Church government, ſuch as they ſhould think fit: Some furious men, who had gone into very frantick Principles, and all thoſe who had been ſecretly ordained in the Preſbyterian way, were preſently taken in: This was like to prove a fatal error, at their firſt ſetting out: The old men among them, what by reaſon of their age, or their experience of former miſtakes, were diſpoſed to more moderate Counſels; but the taking in ſuch a number of violent men, put it out of their power to purſue them; So theſe broke out into a moſt extravagant way of proceeding againſt ſuch of the Epiſcopal party, as had eſcaped the rage of the former Year. Accuſations were raiſed againſt them; ſome were charged for their doctrine, as guilty of Arminianiſm; others were loaded with more ſcandalous Imputations; but theſe were only thrown out to defame them. And where they looked for proof, it was in a way more becoming Inquiſitors, than Judges: ſo apt are all parties, in their turns of power, to fall into thoſe very exceſſes, of which they did formerly make ſuch tragical complaints. All other matters were carried in the Parliament of Scotland, as the Lord Melvill, and the Preſbyterians deſired. In lieu of the King's Supremacy, he had Chimney-money given him; and a Teſt was impoſed on all in office, or capable of electing, or being elected to ſerve in Parliament, declaring the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful Sovereigns, and renouncing any manner of Title pretended to be in King James.

Affairs abroad. As for affairs abroad, the Duke of Savoy came into the Alliance: The French ſuſpected he was in a ſecret Treaty with the Emperor, and ſo they forced him to declare it, before matters were ripe for it. They demanded, that he would put Turin and Montmelian in their hands. This was upon

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the matter to aſk all, and to make him a vaſſal Prince: Upon his refuſal, a French Army took poſſeſſion of Savoy; and marched into Piedmont, before he was ready to receive them: For tho' the Imperialiſts and the Spaniards had made him great promiſes, in which they are never wanting, when their affairs require it: yet they failed ſo totally in the performance, that if the King and the Dutch, who had promiſed him nothing, had not performed every thing effectually, he muſt have become at once a prey to the French. The Emperor was this Year unhappy in Hungary, both by loſing Belgrade, and by ſome other advantages, which the Turks gained: Yet he was as little inclined to Peace, as he was capable of carrying on the War. 1690.

The King at his firſt coming over from Ireland, was ſo little wearied with that Campaign, that he intended to have gone over to his Army in Flanders: But it was too late; for they were going into Winter quarters: So he held the Seſſion of Parliament early, about the beginning of October, that ſo, the Funds being ſettled for the next Year, he might have an interview with many of the German Princes, who intended to meet him at the Hague, that they might concert meaſures for the next Campaign.

A Seſſion of Parliament in England.

Both Houſes began with Addreſſes of Thanks and Congratulation to the King and Queen, in which they ſet forth the ſenſe they had of their pious care of their people, of their courage and good government, in the higheſt expreſſions that could be conceived; with promiſes of ſtanding by them, and aſſiſting them, with every thing that ſhould be found neceſſary for the publick Service: And they were as good as their word; for the King, having laid before them the charge of the next Year's War, the eſtimate riſing to above four millions, the vaſteſt ſum that ever a King of England had aſked of his people, they agreed to it; the

1690. the oppoſition, that was made, being very inconſiderable; and they conſented to the Funds propoſed, which were thought equal to that, which was demanded, tho' theſe proved afterwards to be defective. The Adminiſtration was ſo juſt and gentle, that there were no grievances to inflame the Houſe; by which the moſt promiſing beginnings of ſome Seſſions, in former Reigns, had often miſcarried.

Some indeed began to complain of a miſmanagement of the Publick Money: But the Miniſtry put a ſtop to that, by moving for a Bill, empowering ſuch, as the Parliament ſhould name, to examine into all Accounts, with all particulars relating to them; giving them authority to bring all perſons, that they ſhould have occaſion for, before them, and to tender them an Oath, to diſcover their knowledge of ſuch things, as they ſhould aſk of them. This was like the power of a Court of Inquiſition: And how unuſual ſoever ſuch a Commiſſion was, yet it ſeemed neceſſary to grant it; for the bearing down, and ſilencing all ſcandalous reports. When this Bill was brought to the Lords, it was moved, that ſince the Commons had named none, but Members of their own Houſe, that the Lords ſhould add ſome of their Number: This was done by ballot; And the Earl of Rocheſter having made the motion, the greateſt number of ballots were for him: but he refuſed to ſubmit to this, with ſo much firmneſs, that the other Lords, who were named with him, ſeemed to think they were in Honour bound to do the ſame; ſo, ſince no Peer would ſuffer himſelf to be named, the Bill paſſed as it was ſent up. Many complaints were made, of the illegal Commitments of ſuſpected perſons for High Treaſon; tho' there was nothing ſworn againſt them. But the Danger was ſo apparent, and the Publick ſafety was ſo much concerned in thoſe impriſonments, that the Houſe of Commons made a precedent, for ſecuring

curing a Miniſtry, that ſhould do the like, upon the like neceſſity, and yet maintained the Habeas Corpus Act: They indemnified the Miniſtry, for all that had been done contrary to that Act. 1690.

Great Complaints were brought over from Ireland, where the King's Army was almoſt as heavy on the Country, as the Rapparees were: There was a great Arrear due to them; for which reaſon, when the King ſettled a Government in Ireland, of three Lords Juſtices, he did not put the Army under their Civil Authority, but kept them in a military ſubjection to their Officers: For he ſaid, ſince the Army was not regularly paid, it would be impoſſible to keep them from Mutiny, if they were put under ſtrict Diſcipline, and puniſhed accordingly. The Under Officers, finding that they were only anſwerable to their Superior Officers, took great Liberties in their Quarters; and, inſtead of protecting the Country, they oppreſſed it. The King had brought over an Army of ſeven thouſand Danes, under the command of a very gallant Prince, one of the Dukes of Wirtemberg: But they were cruel friends, and thought they were Maſters: Nor were the Engliſh Troops much better. The Dutch were the leaſt complained of: Ginkle, who had the chief command, looked ſtrictly to them: But he did not think it convenient to put thoſe of other Nations, under the ſame ſevere meaſures. But the Pay, due for ſome months, being now ſent over, the Orders were changed; and the Army was made ſubject to the Civil Government: Yet it was underſtood, that Inſtructions were ſent to the Lords Juſtices, to be cautious in the exerciſe of their Authority over them; ſo the Country ſtill ſuffered much by theſe Forces.

Ireland much waſted by the Rapparees and the Army there.

The Houſe of Commons paſt a Vote, to raiſe a million of money, out of the Forfeitures and Confiſcations in Ireland: And in order to that, they paſſed a Bill of Attainder of all thoſe, who had been engaged in the Rebellion of Ireland, and ap-

A Bill concerning the Iriſh Forfeitures.

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1690. propriated the Confiſcations, to the raiſing a Fund for defraying the expence of the preſent War; Only they left a power to the King, to grant away a third part of thoſe confiſcated Eſtates, to ſuch as had ſerved in the War; and to give ſuch Articles and Capitulations to thoſe, who were in Arms, as he ſhould think fit. Upon this Bill, many petitions were offered, the creditors of ſome, and the heirs of others, who had continued faithful to the Government, deſired proviſo's for their ſecurity. The Commons, ſeeing that there was no end of Petitions, for ſuch proviſo's, rejected them all; imitating in this too much the mock Parliament, that King James held in Dublin; in which about 3000 perſons were attainted, without proof or proceſs, only becauſe ſome of them were gone over to England, and others were abſconding, or informed againſt in Ireland. But when this Bill was brought up to the Lords, they thought they were in juſtice bound to hear all petitions: Upon this, the Bill was like to be clogg'd with many proviſo's; and the matter muſt have held long: So the King, to ſtop this, ſent a meſſage to the Commons: And he ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, afterwards from the Throne, to both Houſes. He promiſed, he would give no Grants of any confiſcated Eſtates; but would keep that matter entire, to the conſideration of another Seſſion of Parliament: By which the King intended only to aſſure them, that he would give none of thoſe Eſtates to his Courtiers or Officers: But he thought, he was ſtill at liberty to paſs ſuch Acts of Grace, or grant ſuch Articles to the Iriſh, as the ſtate of his affairs ſhould require.

The Earl of Torrington tried and juſtified.

There were no important Debates in the Houſe of Lords. The Earl of Torrington's Buſineſs held them long: The form of his Commitment was judged to be illegal: And the Martial Law, to which, by the Statute, all who ſerved in the Fleet were ſubject, being lodged in the Lord High Admiral,

miral, it was doubted, whether, the Admiralty being now in Commiſſion, that power was lodged with the Commiſſioners. The Judges were of opinion, that it was: Yet, ſince the power of life and death was too ſacred a thing, to paſs only by a conſtruction of Law, it was thought the ſafeſt courſe to paſs an Act, declaring, that the powers of a Lord High Admiral did veſt in the Commiſſioners. The ſecret Enemies of the Government, who intended to embroil matters, moved that the Earl of Torrington ſhould be impeached in Parliament; Proceedings in that way being always ſlow, Incidents were alſo apt to fall in, that might create diſputes between the two Houſes, which did ſometimes end in a Rupture. But the King was apprehenſive of that: And, tho' he was much incenſed againſt that Lord, and had reaſon to believe, that a Council of War would treat him very favourably; yet he choſe rather to let it go ſo, than to diſorder his affairs. The Commiſſioners of the Admiralty named a Court to try him, who did it with ſo groſs a partiality, that it reflected much on the juſtice of the Nation; ſo that, if it had not been for the great Intereſt the King had in the States, it might have occaſioned a breach of the Alliance between them and us. He came off ſafe as to his Perſon and Eſtate, but much loaded in his Reputation; ſome charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty ſullenneſs of temper, that made him, ſince orders were ſent him, contrary to the advices he had given, to reſolve indeed to obey them, and fight; but in ſuch a manner, as ſhould caſt the blame on thoſe who had ſent him the Orders, and give them cauſe to repent of it. 1690.

Another Debate was moved in the Houſe of Lords (by thoſe who intended to revive the old Impeachment of the Marquiſs of Caermarthen) whether Impeachments continued from Parliament to Parliament, or whether they were not extinguiſhed

Deſigns againſt the Marquiſs of Caermarthen.

1690. ed by an Act of Grace. Some antient Precedents were brought to favour this, by thoſe who intended to keep them up: But in all theſe, there had been an order of one Parliament to continue them on to the next: So they did not come home to the preſent caſe: And how doubtful ſoever it was, whether the King's Pardon could be pleaded in Bar to an Impeachment; yet, ſince the King had ſent an Act of Grace, which had paſſed in the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, it ſeemed very unreaſonable, to offer an Impeachment againſt an Act of Parliament. All this diſcovered a deſign againſt that Lord, who was believed to have the greateſt credit, both with the King and Queen, and was again falling under an univerſal hatred. In a Houſe of Commons, every motion againſt a Miniſter, is apt to be well entertained: Some envy him; others are angry at him: Many hope to ſhare in the ſpoils of him, or of his Friends, that fall with him: And a love of change, and a wantonneſs of mind, makes the attacking a Miniſter, a diverſion to the reſt. The thing was well laid, and fourteen leading men had undertaken to manage the matter againſt him; in which the Earl of Shrewſbury had the chief hand, as he himſelf told me: For he had a very bad opinion of the man, and thought his advices would, in concluſion, ruin the King and his affairs. But a Diſcovery was at this time made, that was of great conſequence: And it was managed chiefly by his means, ſo that put an end to the deſigns againſt him for the preſent.

Lord Preſton ſent over to France.

The Seſſion of Parliament was drawing to a concluſion: And the King was making haſte over, to a great Congreſs of many Princes, who were coming to meet him at the Hague. The Jacobites thought this opportunity was not to be loſt: They fancied it would be eaſy, in the King's abſence, to bring a Revolution about: So they got the Lord Preſton to come up to London, and to undertake the Journey to France, and to manage this Negotiation.

tiation. They thought no time was to be loſt, and that no great force was to be brought over with King James; but that a few reſolute men, as a guard to his perſon, would ſerve the turn, now that there was ſo ſmall a force left within the Kingdom, and the Nation was ſo incenſed at a burthen of four millions in Taxes. By this means, if he ſurpriſed us, and managed his coming over with ſuch ſecrecy, that he ſhould bring over with himſelf the firſt news of it, they believed this Revolution would be more eaſy, and more ſudden, than the laſt. The men that laid this deſign were, the Earl of Clarendon, the Biſhop of Ely, the Lord Preſton, and his brother Mr. Graham, and Pen the famous Quaker. Lord Preſton reſolved to go over, and to carry Letters from thoſe who had joined with him in the deſign, to King James and his Queen. The Biſhop of Ely's Letters were writ in a very particular ſtyle: He undertook both for his elder Brother, and the reſt of the Family; which was plainly meant of Sancroft, and the other deprived Biſhops. In his Letter to King James's Queen, he aſſured her of his, and all their zeal for the Prince of Wales; and that they would no more part with that, than with their hopes of Heaven. Aſhton, a ſervant of that Queen's, hired a veſſel to carry them over: But the owner of the veſſel, being a man zealous for the Government, diſcovered all he knew; which was only, that he was to carry ſome perſons over to France. The notice of this was carried to the Marquiſs of Caermarthen: And the matter was ſo ordered, that Lord Preſton, Aſhton, and a young man (Elliot) were got aboard, and falling down the River, when the Officer ſent to take them came, on pretence to ſearch, and preſs for Seamen; and drew the three Paſſengers out of the Hold, in which they were hid. Lord Preſton left his Letters behind him in the Hold, together with King James's Signet: Aſhton 1690.

1690. Aſhton took them up, on deſign to have thrown them into the Sea; but they were taken from him.

Both they and their Letters were brought to Whitehall. Lord Preſton's mind ſunk ſo viſibly, that it was concluded, he would not die, if confeſſing all he knew could ſave him. Aſhton was more firm and ſullen: Elliot knew nothing. There was among their Papers one, that contained the heads of a Declaration, with aſſurances of Pardon, and promiſes to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws: Another paper contained ſhort memorials, taken by Lord Preſton, in which many of the Nobility was named. The moſt important of all was, a relation of a Conference between ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen, Whigs and Tories; by which it appeared, that, upon a converſation on this ſubject, they all ſeemed convinced, that upon this occaſion France would not ſtudy to conquer, but to oblige England; and that King James would be wholly governed by Proteſtants, and follow the Proteſtant and Engliſh Intereſt. The Priſoners were quickly brought to their Trial: Their deſign of going to France, and the treaſonable Papers found about them, were fully proved: Some of them were writ in Lord Preſton's, and ſome in Aſhton's hand. They made but a poor defence: They ſaid, a ſimilitude of hands was not thought a good proof in Sidney's Caſe: But this was now only a circumſtance: In what hand ſoever the Papers were writ, the Crime was always the ſame, ſince they were open, not ſealed: So they knew the contents of them, and thus were carrying on a Negotiation of High Treaſon, with the King's Enemies: Upon full evidence they were condemned.

Taken, tried, and condemned.

Aſhton would enter into no Treaty with the Court; but prepared himſelf to die. And he ſuffered with great decency and ſeriouſneſs. He left a Paper behind him, in which he owned his dependance on King James, and his fidelity to him: He alſo affirmed, that he was ſure the Prince of Wales

Aſhton ſuffered.

Wales was born of the Queen: He denied, that he knew the contents of the Papers, that were taken with him. This made ſome conclude, that his paper was penned by ſome other perſon, and too haſtily copied over by himſelf, without making due reflections on this part of it; for I compared this paper, which he gave the Sheriff, and which was written in his own hand, with thoſe found about him; and it was viſible, both were writ in the ſame hand. 1690.

Lord Preſton went backward and forward: He had no mind to die, and yet was not willing to tell all he knew: He acted a weak part in all reſpects: When he was heated by the Importunities of his friends, who were violently engaged againſt the Government, and after he had dined well, he reſolved he would die heroically: But by next morning that heat went off; and when he ſaw Death in full view, his heart failed him. The Scheme he carried over was ſo fooliſh, ſo ill concerted, and ſo few engaged in it, that thoſe who knew the whole ſecret concluded, that if he had got ſafe to the Court of France, the Project would have been ſo deſpiſed, that he muſt have been ſuſpected, as ſent over to draw King James into a Snare, and bring him into the King's hands. The Earl of Clarendon was ſeized, and put in the Tower: But the Biſhop of Ely, Graham, and Pen, abſconded. After ſome months, the King, in regard to the Earl of Clarendon's relation to the Queen, would proceed to no extremities againſt him, but gave him leave to live, confined to his houſe in the Country. Lord Preſton was pardoned.

The King had ſuffered the deprived Biſhops to continue, now above a Year, at their Sees: They all the while neglected the concerns of the Church, doing nothing, but living privately in their Palaces. I had, by the Queen's Order, moved both the Earl of Rocheſter, and Sir John Trevor, who had great credit with them, to try whether, in caſe an The behaviour of the deprived Biſhops.

1690. Act could be obtained, to excuſe them from taking the Oaths, they would go on, and do their functions in Ordinations, Inſtitutions, and Confirmations; and aſſiſt at the publick Worſhip, as formerly: But they would give no anſwer: Only they ſaid, they would live quietly, that is, keep themſelves cloſe, till a proper time ſhould encourage them to act more openly. So all the thoughts of this kind were, upon that, laid aſide. One of the conſiderableſt men of the party, Dr. Sherlock, upon King James's going out of Ireland, thought that this gave the preſent Government a thorough ſettlement: And in that caſe, he thought it lawful to take the Oaths; and upon that, not only took them himſelf, but publickly juſtified what he had done: Upon which, he was moſt ſeverely libelled by thoſe, from whom he withdrew. The diſcovery of the Biſhop of Ely's correſpondence, and engagement in the name of the reſt, gave the King a great advantage in filling thoſe vacant Sees; which he reſolved to do, upon his return from the Congreſs, to which he went over in January.

A Congreſs of Princes at the Hague.

In his way, he ran a very great hazard: When he got within the Maeſe, ſo that it was thought, two hours rowing would bring him to Land, being weary of the Sea, he went into an open Boat with ſome of his Lords: But by Miſts and Storms, he was toſſed up and down above ſixteen hours, before he got ſafe to Land. Yet neither he, nor any of thoſe who were with him, were the worſe for all this cold and wet weather. And, when the Seamen ſeemed very apprehenſive of their danger, the King ſaid in a very intrepid manner; What are you afraid to die in my Company? He ſoon ſettled ſome points, at which the States had ſtuck long: And they created the Funds for that Year. The Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg, the Dukes of Zell and Wolfenbuttel, with the Landgrave of Heſſe, and a great many other German Princes, came to this Interview, and entred into

conſul-

consultations concerning the operations of the next Campaign. The Duke of Savoy's affairs were then very low: But the King took care of him, and furnished, as well as procured him such Supplies, that his affairs had quickly a more promising face. Things were concerted among the Princes themselves, and were kept so secret, that they did not trust them to their Ministers: At least, the King did not communicate them to the Earl of Nottingham, as he protested solemnly to me, when he came back. The Princes shewed to the King all the respects that any of their rank ever paid to any crowned Head: And they lived together in such an easy freedom, that points of Ceremony occasioned no disputes among them; tho' those are often, upon less solemn interviews, the subjects of much quarrelling, and interrupt more important Debates. 1690.

A new Pope chosen after a long Conclave.

During this Congress, Pope Alexander the Eighth, Ottoboni, died. He had succeeded Pope Innocent, and sate in that Chair almost a Year and a half: He was a Venetian, and intended to enrich his Family as much as he could. The French King renounced his pretensions to the Franchises: And he, in return for that, promoted Fourbin and some others, recommended by that Court, to be Cardinals; which was much resented by the Emperor. Yet he would not yield the point of the Regale to the Court of France: Nor would he grant the Bulls for those, whom the King had named to the vacant Bishopricks in France, who had signed the Formulary, passed in 1682, that declared the Pope fallible, and subject to a General Council. When Pope Alexander felt himself near Death, he passed a Bull in due Form, by which he confirmed all Pope Innocent's Bulls: And by this he put a new stop to any Reconciliation with the Court of France. This he did, to render his Name and Family more acceptable to the Italians, and most particularly to his Countrymen, who

1690. hated the French as much as they feared them. Upon his Death, the Conclave continued ſhut up for five months, before they could agree upon an Election. The party of the Zealots ſtood long firm to Barbarigo, who had the reputation of a Saint, and ſeemed in all things to ſet Cardinal Borromeo before him as a Pattern: They at laſt were perſwaded to conſent to the choice of Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, who, while he was Archbiſhop of Naples, had ſome diſputes with the Viceroy, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, which he aſſerted ſo highly, that he excommunicated ſome of the Judges, who, as he thought, had invaded them. The Spaniards had ſeemed diſpleaſed at this; which recommended him ſo to the French, that they alſo concurred to his Elevation. He aſſumed Pope Innocent's name, and ſeemed reſolved to follow his maxims and ſteps; for he did not ſeek to raiſe his Family; of which the King told me a conſiderable inſtance: One of his neareſt kindred was then in the Spaniſh Service in Flanders; and haſted to Rome upon his promotion; he received him kindly enough, but preſently diſmiſſed him, giving him no other preſent, if he ſaid true, but ſome ſnuff. It is true, the Spaniards afterwards promoted him: But the Pope took no notice of that.

To return to the Low Countries: The King of France reſolved to break off the Conferences at the Hague, by giving the Alarm of an early Campaign: Mons was beſieged; and the King came before it in perſon. It was thereupon given up, as a loſt Place; for the French Miniſters had laid that down among their chief maxims, that their King was never to undertake any thing in his own perſon, but where he was ſure of ſucceſs. The King broke up the Congreſs, and drew a great Army very ſoon together: And, if the Town had held out ſo long, as they might well have done, or if the Governour of Flanders had performed what he

The Siege of Mons.

he undertook, of furniſhing Carriages to the Army, the King would either have raiſed the Siege, or forced the French to a Battle. But ſome Prieſts had been gained by the French, who laboured ſo effectually among the Townſmen, who were almoſt as ſtrong as the Carriſon, that they at laſt forced the Governor to capitulate. Upon that, both Armies went into Quarters of refreſhment: And the King came over again to England for a few weeks. 1690.

He gave all neceſſary Orders for the Campaign in Ireland; in which Ginkle had the chief command. Ruſſel had the command of the Fleet, which was ſoon ready, and well manned. The Dutch Squadron came over in good time. The proportion of the Quota, ſettled between England and the States, was, that we were to furniſh five, and they three Ships of equal rates and ſtrength. Affairs ſettled for the next Campaign.

Affairs in Scotland were now brought to ſome temper: Many of the Lords, who had been concerned in the late Plot, came up, and confeſſed and diſcovered all, and took out their pardon; they excuſed themſelves, as apprehending that they were expoſed to ruin; and that they dreaded the tyranny of Preſbytery, no leſs than they did Popery: And they promiſed that, if the King would ſo balance matters, that the Lord Melvill, and his party, ſhould not have it in their power to ruin them and their friends, and in particular, that they ſhould not turn out the Miniſters of the Epiſcopal Perſwaſion, who were yet in office, nor force Preſbyterians on them, they would engage in the King's Intereſts faithfully and with zeal: They alſo undertook to quiet the Highlanders, who ſtood out ſtill, and were robbing the Country in Parties: And they undertook to the King, that, if the Epiſcopal Clergy could be aſſured of his protection, they would all acknowledge and ſerve him: They did not deſire, that the King ſhould make any ſtep towards the changing the Govern- Affairs in Scotland.

1690. ment, that was ſettled there; they only deſired, that Epiſcopal Miniſters might continue to ſerve, in thoſe places that liked them beſt; and that no man ſhould be brought into trouble for his opinion, as to the government of the Church; and that ſuch Epiſcopal men, as were willing to mix with the Preſbyterians in their Judicatories, ſhould be admitted, without any ſevere impoſition in point of opinion.

Some Changes made in Scotland.

This looked ſo fair, and agreed ſo well with the King's own ſenſe of things, that he very eaſily hearkned to it; and I did believe that it was ſincerely meant; ſo I promoted it with great zeal; tho' we afterwards came to ſee, that all this was an artifice of the Jacobites, to engage the King to diſguſt the Preſbyterians; and by loſing them, or at leaſt rendring them remiſs in his Service, they reckoned they would be ſoon Maſters of that Kingdom. For the party reſolved now to come in generally, to take the Oaths; but in order to that, they ſent one to King James, to ſhew the neceſſity of it, and the ſervice they intended him in it; and therefore they aſked his leave to take them. That King's anſwer was more honeſt; he ſaid, he could not conſent to that, which he thought unlawful; but if any of them took the Oaths on deſign to ſerve him, and continued to advance his intereſts, he promiſed, it ſhould never be remembred againſt them. Young Dalrymple was made conjunct Secretary of State, with the Lord Melvill; and he undertook to bring in moſt of the Jacobites to the King's Service; but they entred at the ſame time, into a cloſe correſpondence with St. Germains: I believed nothing of all this at that time, but went in cordially to ſerve many, who intended to betray us.

The truth was, the Preſbyterians, by their violence and other fooliſh practices, were rendring themſelves both odious and contemptible: They had formed a General Aſſembly, in the end of the former

former Year, in which they did very much expoſe themſelves, by the weakneſs and peeviſhneſs of their conduct: Little Learning or Prudence appeared among them; poor preaching and wretched haranguing; partialities to one another, and violence and injuſtice to thoſe who differed from them, ſhewed themſelves in all their Meetings. And theſe did ſo much ſink their reputation, that they were weaning the Nation moſt effectually from all fondneſs to their Government: But the falſhood of many, who, under a pretence of moderating matters, were really undermining the King's Government, helped in the ſequel to preſerve the Preſbyterians, as much as their own conduct did now alienate the King from them. 1690.

The vacant Sees filled.

The next thing the King did was, to fill the Sees vacant by Deprivation. He judged right, that it was of great conſequence, both to his Service and to the intereſts of Religion, to have Canterbury well filled: For the reſt would turn upon that. By the Choice, he was to make, all the Nation would ſee, whether he intended to go on, with his firſt deſign of moderating matters, and healing our Breaches, or if he would go into the paſſions and humours of a High Party, that ſeemed to court him as abjectly, as they inwardly hated him. Dr. Tillotſon had been now well known to him for two Years; his ſoft and prudent Counſels, and his zeal for his Service, had begot, both in the King and Queen, a high and juſt opinion of him. They had both, for above a Year, preſſed him to come into this Poſt: And he had ſtruggled againſt it with great earneſtneſs: As he had no ambition, nor aſpiring in his temper, ſo he foreſaw what a ſcene of trouble and ſlander he muſt enter on, now in the decline of his age. The prejudices, that the Jacobites would poſſeſs all people with, for his coming into the room of One, whom they called a Confeſſor, and who began now to have the publick compaſſion on his ſide, were well foreſeen by him. He alſo apprehended the continuance of that

1690. heat and averſion, that a violent party had always expreſſed towards him, tho' he had not only avoided to provoke any of them, but had, upon all occaſions, done the chief of them great ſervices, as oft as it was in his Power. He had large Principles, and was free from Superſtition; his zeal had been chiefly againſt Atheiſm and Popery: But he had never ſhewed much ſharpneſs againſt the Diſſenters. He had lived in a good correſpondence with many of them: He had brought ſeveral over to the Church, by the force of reaſon, and the ſoftneſs of perſwaſion and good uſage; but was a declared enemy to violence and ſeverities on thoſe heads. Among other prejudices againſt him, one related to myſelf: He and I had lived, for many Years, in a cloſe and ſtrict friendſhip; he laid before the King all the ill effects, that, as he thought, the promoting him would have on his own Service: But all this had ſerved only to increaſe the King's eſteem of him, and fix him in his purpoſe.

Many Promotions in the Church.

The Biſhop of Ely's Letters to St. Germains, gave ſo fair an occaſion of filling thoſe Sees, at this time, that the King reſolved to lay hold on it: And Tillotſon, with great uneaſineſs to himſelf, ſubmitted to the King's command: And ſoon after, the See of York falling void, Dr. Sharp was promoted to it: So thoſe two Sees were filled with the two beſt Preachers, that had ſat in them in our time: Only Sharp did not know the World ſo well, and was not ſo ſteady as Tillotſon was. Dr. Patrick was advanced to Ely, Dr. More was made Biſhop of Norwich, Dr. Cumberland was made Biſhop of Peterborow, Dr. Fowler was made Biſhop of Gloceſter, Ironſide was promoted to Hereford, Grove to Chicheſter, and Hall to Briſtol; as Hough, the Preſident of Magdalen's, was the Year before this, made Biſhop of Oxford. So that in two Years time, the King had named fifteen Biſhops; and they were generally looked on as the learnedeſt, the wiſeſt, and beſt men, that were in the

the Church. It was visible, that in all these nominations, and the filling the inferior Dignities, that became void by their promotion, no ambition, nor Court favour, had appeared; men were not scrambling for Preferment, nor using arts, or employing friends to set them forward; on the contrary, men were sought for, and brought out of their Retirements; and most of them very much against their own inclinations: They were men both of moderate principles and of calm tempers: This great promotion was such a discovery of the King and Queen's designs, with relation to the Church, that it served much to remove the jealousies, that some other steps the King had made, were beginning to raise in the Whigs, and very much softned the ill humour, that was spread among them. 1690.

The Campaign in Flanders.

As soon as this was over; the King went back to command his Army in Flanders. Both Armies were now making haste to take the Field. But the French were quicker than the Confederates had yet learned to be. Prince Waldeck had not got above eighteen thousand men together, when Luxemburg, with an Army of forty thousand men, was marching to have surprized Brussels: And at the same time, Boufflers, with another Army, came up to Liege. Waldeck posted his Army so well, that Luxemburg, believing it stronger than indeed it was, did not attempt to break through, in which it was believed he might have succeeded. The King hastned the rest of the Troops, and came himself to the Army in good time, not only to cover Brussels, but to send a detachment to the relief of Liege; which had been bombarded for two days. A Body of Germans, as well as that which the King sent to them, came in good time to support those of Liege, who were beginning to think of capitulating. So Boufflers drew off; and the French kept themselves so close in their Posts, all the rest of the Campaign, that though the King made

1690. made many motions, to try if it was poſſible to bring them to a Battle, yet he could not do it. Signal preſervations of his perſon did again ſhew, that he had a watchful Providence ſtill guarding him. Once he had ſtood under a tree for ſome time, which the Enemy obſerving, they levelled a Cannon ſo exactly, that the tree was ſhot down two minutes after the King was gone from the place. There was one, that belonged to the train of Artillery, who was corrupted to ſet fire to the Magazine of powder: And he fired the matches of three Bombs, two of theſe blew up, without doing any miſchief, tho' there were twenty four more Bombs in the ſame Waggon, on which they lay, together with a Barrel of powder: The third Bomb was found, with the match fired, before it had its effect. If this wicked practice had ſucceeded, the confuſion, that was in all reaſon to be expected, upon ſuch an accident, while the Enemy was not above a League from them, drawn up, and looking for the ſucceſs of it, muſt have had terrible effects. It cannot be eaſily imagined, how much miſchief might have followed upon it, in the mere deſtruction of ſo many as would have periſhed immediately, if the whole Magazine had taken fire; as well as in the pannick fear, with which the reſt would have been ſtruck upon ſo terrible an accident; by the ſurprize of it, the French might have had an opportunity to have cut off the whole Army. This may well be reckoned one of the Miracles of Providence, that ſo little harm was done, when ſo much was intended and ſo near being done. The two Armies lay along between the Samber and the Maeſe: But no Action followed. When the time came of going into Quarters, the King left the Armies in Prince Waldeck's hands, who was obſerved not to march off with that caution, that might have been expected from ſo old a Captain: Luxemburg upon that drew out his Horſe, with the King's Houſhold, deſigning

ing to cut off his Rear; and did, upon the firſt ſurprize, put them into ſome diſorder; but they made ſo good a ſtand, that, after a very hot action, the French marched off, and loſt more men on their ſide than we did. Auverquerque commanded the Body that did this ſervice: And with it the Campaign ended in Flanders. 1690.

Affairs at Sea.

Matters went on at Sea with the ſame caution. Dunkirk was for ſome time block'd up by a Squadron of ours. The great Fleet went to find out the French; but they had Orders to avoid an Engagement: And, though for the ſpace of two months, Ruſſel did all he could to come up to them, yet they ſtill kept at a diſtance, and ſailed off in the night: So that, though he was ſometimes in view of them, yet he loſt it next day. The trading part of the Nation was very apprehenſive of the danger the Smirna Fleet might be in, in which the Dutch and Engliſh Effects together, were valued at four millions: For, tho' they had a great Convoy, yet the French Fleet ſtood out to intercept them: But they got ſafe into Kinſale. The Seaſon went over without any Action; and Ruſſel, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a Storm: Which was much cenſured; for that Road is not ſafe: And two conſiderable Ships were loſt upon the occaſion. Great Factions were among the Flag Officers: And no other Service was done by this great Equipment, but that our Trade was maintained.

The Campaign in Ireland.

But, while we had no ſucceſs, either in Flanders or at Sea, we were more happy in Ireland, even beyond expectation. The Campaign was opened with the taking of Baltimore, on which the Iriſh had wrought much, that Athlone might be covered by it: We took it in one day; and the Garriſon had only Ammunition for a day more. St. Ruth, one of the violenteſt of all the Perſecutors of the Proteſtants in France, was ſent over with two hundred Officers to command the Iriſh Army:

1690. Army: This firſt action reflected much on his Conduct, who left a thouſand men, with ſo ſlender a proviſion of Ammunition, that they were all made Priſoners of War. From thence Ginkle advanc'd to Athlone, where St. Ruth was poſted on the other ſide of the Shannon, with an Army in number equal to his: The River was deep, but fordable in ſeveral places: The Caſtle was ſoon turned to a ruin by the Cannon: But the paſſing the River, in the face of an Enemy, was no eaſy thing, the Ford being ſo narrow, that they could not paſs above twenty in front: Parties were ſent out to try other Fords, which probably made the Enemy imagine, that they never intended to paſs the River, juſt under the Town, where the Ford was both deep and narrow. Talmaſh, a General Officer, moved, that two Battallions might have Guineas apiece to encourage them; and he offered to march over at the head of them; which was preſently executed by Mackay, with ſo much reſolution, that many ancient Officers ſaid, it was the gallanteſt action they had ever ſeen. They paſt the River, and went through the Breaches into the Town, with the loſs only of fifty men, having killed above a thouſand of the Enemy; and yet they ſpared all, that aſked quarter. St. Ruth did not, upon this occaſion, act ſuitably to the reputation he had formerly acquired; he retired to Agrem; where he poſted himſelf to great advantage, and was much ſuperior to Ginkle in number; for he had abondoned many ſmall Garriſons, to increaſe his Army, which was now twenty eight thouſand ſtrong; whereas Ginkle had not above twenty thouſand; ſo that the attacking him was no adviſable thing, if the courage of the Engliſh, and the cowardice of the Iriſh, had not made a difference ſo conſiderable, as neither numbers nor poſts could balance.

Athlone taken.

The Battle of Agrem.

St. Ruth had indeed taken the moſt effectual way poſſible to infuſe courage into the Iriſh: He had ſent their Prieſts about among them, to animate

mate them by all the methods they could think of: And, as the moſt powerful of all others, they made them ſwear on the Sacrament, that they would never forſake their Colours. This had a great effect on them: For as, when Ginkle fell on them, they had a great Bog before them; and the Grounds on both ſides were very favourable to them: With thoſe advantages, they maintained their Ground much longer, than they had been accuſtomed to do. They diſputed the matter ſo obſtinately, that for about two hours the Action was very hot, and every Battalion and Squadron, on both ſides, had a ſhare in it. But nature will be always too ſtrong for art; the Iriſh, in concluſion, truſted more to their heels, than to their hands; the foot threw down their Arms, and ran away. St. Ruth, and many more Officers, were killed, and about eight thouſand Soldiers, and all their Cannon and Baggage was taken. So that it was a total Defeat; only the night favoured a Body of Horſe, that got off. From thence Ginkle advanced to Galloway, which capitulated; ſo that now Limerick was the only place that ſtood out; a Squadron of Ships was ſent to ſhut up the River. In the mean while, the Lords Juſtices iſſued out a new Proclamation, with an offer of life and eſtate, to ſuch as, within a fortnight, ſhould come under the King's Protection. 1690.

Ginkle purſued his advantages: And, having reduced all Connaught, he came and ſat down before Limerick, and bombarded it; but that had no great effect; and though moſt of the houſes were beat down, yet as long as the Connaught ſide was open, freſh men and proviſions were ſtill brought into the place. When the Men of War were come up, near the Town, Ginkle ſent over a part of his Army to the Connaught ſide, who fell upon ſome Bodies of the Iriſh that lay there, and broke them; and purſued them ſo cloſe, as they retired 1691. Limerick beſieged.

1691. retired to Limerick, that the French Governour D'uſſon, fearing that the Engliſh would have come in with them, drew up the Bridge; ſo that many of them were killed and drowned. This contributed very much towards heightning the prejudices, that the Iriſh had againſt the French. The latter were ſo inconſiderable, that, if Sarsfield and ſome of the Iriſh had not joined with them, they could not have made their party good. The Earl of Tyrconnel had, with a particular view, ſtudied to divert the French, from ſending over Soldiers into Ireland; for he deſigned, in caſe of new misfortunes, to treat with the King, and to preſerve himſelf and his friends; and now he began to diſpoſe the Iriſh to think of treating; ſince they ſaw that otherwiſe their ruin was inevitable. But as ſoon as this was ſuſpected, all the military men, who reſolved to give themſelves up entirely to the French Intereſt, combined againſt him, and blaſted him as a feeble and falſe man, who was not to be truſted. This was carried ſo far, that to avoid affronts, he was adviſed to leave the Army: And he ſtaid all this Summer at Limerick, where he died of grief, as was believed: But before he died, he adviſed all that came to him, not to let things go to extremities, but to accept of ſuch terms as could be got: And his words ſeemed to weigh more after his death, than in his life-time: For the Iriſh began generally to ſay, that they muſt take care of themſelves, and not be made ſacrifices to ſerve the ends of the French. This was much heightned, by the ſlaughter of the Iriſh, whom the French Governor had ſhut out, and left to periſh. They wanted no proviſions in Limerick. And a Squadron of French Ships ſtood over to that Coaſt, which was much ſtronger than ours, that had ſailed up to the Town. So it was to be feared, that they might come into the River to deſtroy our Ships.

To hinder that, another Squadron of Engliſh Men of War was ordered thither. Yet the French did

did not think fit to venture their Ships within the Shannon, where they had no places of ſhelter; the miſunderſtanding that daily grew, between the Iriſh and the French was great; and all appearance of relief from France failing, made them reſolve to capitulate. This was very welcome to Ginkle and his Army, who began to be in great wants; for that Country was quite waſted, having been the Seat of War for three Years: And all their draught-horſes were ſo wearied out, that their Camp was often ill ſupplied. 1691.

When they came to capitulate, the Iriſh inſiſted on very high demands; which was ſet on by the French, who hoped they would be rejected: But the King had given Ginkle ſecret directions, that he ſhould grant all the demands they could make, that would put an end to that War: So every thing was granted, to the great diſappointment of the French, and the no ſmall grief of ſome of the Engliſh, who hoped this War ſhould have ended in the total ruin of the Iriſh Intereſt. During the Treaty, a ſaying of Sarsfield's deſerves to be remembred; for it was much talked of, all Europe over. He aſked ſome of the Engliſh Officers, if they had not come to a better opinion of the Iriſh, by their behaviour during this War; and, whereas they ſaid, it was much the ſame, that it had always been; Sarsfield anſwered, as low as we now are, change but Kings with us, and we will fight it over again with you. Thoſe of Limerick treated, not only for themſelves, but for all the reſt of their Countrymen, that were yet in Arms. They were all indemnified and reſtored to all, that they had enjoyed in King Charles's time. They were alſo admitted to all the Privileges of Subjects, upon their taking the Oaths of Allegiance to their Majeſties, without being bound to take the Oath of Supremacy. Not only the French, but as many of the Iriſh as had a mind to go over to France, had free liberty, and a ſafe tranſportation. And

The Iriſh capitulate.

upon

1691. upon that, about twelve thouſand of them went over.

The War there at an end.

And thus ended the War of Ireland: And with that our Civil War came to a final end. The Articles of Capitulation were punctually executed; and ſome doubts that aroſe, out of ſome ambiguous words, were explained in favour of the Iriſh. So earneſtly deſirous was the King to have all matters quieted at home, that he might direct his whole force againſt the Enemy abroad. The Engliſh in Ireland, tho' none could ſuffer more, by the continuance of the War, than they did, yet were uneaſy, when they ſaw that the Iriſh had obtained ſuch good conditions; ſome of the more violent men among them, who were much exaſperated with the wrongs that had been done them, began to call in queſtion the legality of ſome of the Articles: But the Parliament of England did not think fit to enter upon that diſcuſſion; nor made they any motions towards the violating the Capitulation. Ginkle came over full of honour, after ſo glorious a Campaign, and was made Earl of Athlone, and had noble rewards for the great Service he had done; though, without detracting from him, a large ſhare of all that was done, was due to ſome of the General Officers, in particular to Rouvigny, made upon this Earl of Gallway, to Mackay, and Tallmaſh. Old Rouvigny being dead, his Son offered his Service to the King, who unwillingly accepted of it; becauſe he knew that an eſtate, which his Father had in France, and of which he had ſtill the income, would be immediately confiſcated: But he had no regard to that, and heartily engaged in the King's Service, and has been ever ſince employed in many eminent Poſts; in all which he has acquitted himſelf with that great reputation, both for Capacity, Integrity, Courage, and Application, as well as Succeſs in moſt of his Undertakings, that he is juſtly reckoned among the great men of the Age: And to

crown all, he is a man of eminent Virtues, great Piety, and Zeal for Religion. 1691.

Affairs in Hungary

The Emperor's affairs in Hungary went on ſucceſsfully this Year, under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden; tho' he committed an error, that was like to have proved fatal to him: His ſtores lay near him, in great boats on the Danube: But upon ſome deſign, he made a motion off from that River: Of which the Grand Vizier took the advantage, and got into his Camp, between him and his ſtores; ſo he muſt either ſtarve, or break through to come at his proviſions. The Turks had not time to fortify themſelves in their new Camp: So he attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were quite routed, and loſt Camp and Cannon, and a great part of their Army; the Grand Vizier himſelf being killed. If the Court of Vienna had really deſired a Peace, they might have had it, upon this Victory, on very eaſy terms: But they reſolved they would be Maſters of all Tranſilvania; and, in order to that, they undertook the Siege of Great Waradin, which they were forced to turn to a Blockade: So that it fell not into their hands till the Spring following. The Emperor was led on by the Prophecies, that aſſured him of conſtant Conqueſts, and that he ſhould, in concluſion, arrive at Conſtantinople itſelf: So that the practices of thoſe, whom the French had gained about him, had but too much matter to work on in himſelf.

The Maxims of the Court of Vienna.

The news of the total reduction of Ireland, confirmed him in his reſolutions, of carrying on the War in Hungary. It was reckoned that England, being now diſengaged at home, would, with the reſt of the Proteſtant Allies, be able to carry on the War with France. And the two chief paſſions in the Emperor's mind, being his hatred of Hereſy, and his hatred of France, it was ſaid, that thoſe about him, who ſerved the intereſts of that Court, perſwaded him that he was to let the

1691. War go on between France, and thoſe he eſteemed Hereticks; ſince he would be a gainer, which ſide ſoever ſhould loſe; either France would be humbled, or the Hereticks be exhauſted; while he ſhould extend his Dominions, and conquer Infidels: The King had a ſort of regard and ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, that he had to no other Prince whatſoever: So that he did not preſs him, as many deſired he ſhould, to accept of a Peace with the Turks, that ſo he might turn his whole force againſt France.

The State of the Empire.

Germany was now more entirely united in one common intereſt than ever: The third party that the French had formed, to obſtruct the War, were now gone off from thoſe meaſures, and engaged in the general intereſt of the Empire: The two Northern Kings had ſome ſatisfaction given them, in point of Trade, that ſo they might maintain their Neutrality: And they were favourable to the Allies, though not engaged with them. The King of Sweden, whom the French were preſſing to offer his mediation for a Peace, wrote to the Duke of Hanover, aſſuring him, he would never hearken to that propoſition, till he had full aſſurances from the French, that they would own the preſent Government of England.

A Ninth Elector created.

That Duke, who had been long in a French management, did now break off all commerce with that Court, and enter'd into a Treaty, both with the Emperor and with the King. He promiſed great ſupplies againſt France and the Turk, if he might be made an Elector of the Empire: In which the King concurred to preſs the matter ſo earneſtly at the Court of Vienna, that they agreed to it, in caſe he could gain the conſent of the other Electors; which the Emperor's Miniſters reſolved to oppoſe, underhand, all they could. He quickly gained the conſent of the greater number of the Electors; yet new objections were ſtill made. It was ſaid, that if this was granted, another Electorate

torate in a Popiſh Family ought alſo to be created, to balance the advantage that this gave the Lutherans: And they moved that Auſtria ſhould be made an Electorate. But this was ſo much oppoſed, ſince it gave the Emperor two Votes in the Electoral College, that it was let fall. In concluſion, after a Year's negotiation, and a great oppoſition, both by Popiſh and Proteſtant Princes, (ſome of the latter conſidering more their jealouſies of the Houſe of Hanover, than the intereſt of their Religion,) the Inveſtiture was given, with the Title of Elector of Brunſwick, and Great Marſhal of the Empire. The French oppoſed this, with all the artifices they could ſet at work. The matter lay long in an unſettled ſtate: Nor was he now admitted into the College; it being ſaid, that the unanimous conſent of all the Electors muſt be firſt had. 1691.

The Affairs of Savoy did not go on ſo proſperouſly as was hoped for: Caraffa, that commanded the Imperial Army, was more intent on raiſing Contributions, than on carrying on the War: He croſſed every good motion that was made: Montmelian was loſt, which was chiefly imputed to Caraffa: The young Duke of Schomberg, ſent thither to command thoſe Troops that the King paid, undertook to relieve the place, and was aſſured that many Proteſtants in Dauphiny, would come and join him. But Caraffa, and indeed the Court of Turin, ſeemed to be more afraid of the ſtrength of Hereſy, than of the Power of France; and choſe to let that important place fall into their hands, rather than ſuffer it to be relieved by thoſe they did not like. When the Duke of Savoy's Army went into Quarters, Caraffa obliged the neighbouring Princes, and the State of Genoa, to contribute to the ſubſiſtence of the Imperial Army, threatning them otherwiſe with Winter Quarters: So that how ill ſoever he managed the Duke of Savoy's concerns, he took care of his own. He was re- Affairs in Savoy.

1691. called, upon the Complaints made againſt him on all hands; and Caprara was ſent to command in his room.

The Elector of Bavaria commanded in Flanders.

The greateſt danger lay in Flanders, where the feebleneſs of the Spaniſh Government did ſo exhauſt and weaken the whole Country, that all the ſtrength of the Confederate Armies was ſcarce able to defend it: The Spaniards had offered to deliver it up to the King, either as he was King of England, or as he was Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He knew the bigotry of the people ſo well, that he was convinced, it was not poſſible to get them to ſubmit to a Proteſtant Government: But he propoſed the Elector of Bavaria, who ſeemed to have much heat, and an ambition of ſignalizing himſelf in that Country, which was then the chief ſcene of War: And he could ſupport that Government by the Troops and Treaſure, that he might draw out of his Electorate: Beſides, if he governed that Country well, and acquired a fame in Arms, that might give him a Proſpect of ſucceeding to the Crown of Spain, in the right of his Electoreſs, who, if the Houſe of Bourbon was ſet aſide, was next in that Succeſſion. The Spaniards agreed to this Propoſal; but they would not make the firſt offer of it to that Elector, nor would he aſk it; and it ſtuck for ſome time at this: But the Court of Vienna adjuſted the matter, by making the propoſition, which the Elector accepted: And that put a new life into thoſe oppreſſed and miſerable Provinces.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

This was the general ſtate of affairs, when a new Seſſion of Parliament was opened at Weſtminſter, and then it appeared, that a Party was avowedly formed againſt the Government. They durſt not own that before, while the War of Ireland continued. But now, ſince that was at an end, they began to infuſe into all people, that there was no need of keeping up a great Land Army, and that we ought only to aſſiſt our Allies with ſome auxiliary

liary Troops, and increaſe our force at Sea. Many that underſtood not the ſtate of foreign affairs, were drawn into this conceit; not conſidering, that if Flanders was loſt, Holland muſt ſubmit, and take the beſt terms they could get. And the conjunction of thoſe two great Powers at Sea, muſt preſently ruin our Trade, and in a little time ſubdue us entirely. But it was not eaſy to bring all people to apprehend this aright; and thoſe who had ill intentions, would not be beaten out of it, but covered worſe deſigns with this pretence: And this was ſtill kept up as a prejudice againſt the King and his Government, that he loved to have a great Army about him; and that when they were once modelled, he would never part with them, but govern in an arbitrary way, as ſoon as he had prepared his Soldiers to ſerve his ends. 1691.

Another prejudice had more colour, and as bad effects. The King was thought to love the Dutch more than the Engliſh, to truſt more to them, and to admit them to more freedom with him. He gave too much occaſion to a general diſguſt, which was ſpread both among the Engliſh Officers, and the Nobility: He took little pains to gain the affections of the Nation; nor did he conſtrain himſelf enough to render his Government more acceptable: He was ſhut up all the day long; and his ſilence, when he admitted any to an audience, diſtaſted them as much, as if they had been denied it. The Earl of Marlborough thought, that the great ſervices he had done, were not acknowledged nor rewarded, as they well deſerved; and began to ſpeak like a man diſcontented. And the ſtrain of all the Nation almoſt was, that the Engliſh were overlooked, and the Dutch were the only perſons favoured or truſted. This was National: And the Engliſh being too apt to deſpiſe other Nations, and being of more lively tempers than the Dutch, grew to expreſs a contempt and an averſion for them, that went almoſt to a mutiny. Jealouſies of the King.

1691. is true, the Dutch behaved themſelves ſo well, and ſo regularly in their Quarters, and paid for every thing ſo punctually, whereas the Engliſh were apt to be rude and exacting; eſpecially thoſe who were all this Winter coming over from Ireland, who had been ſo long in an Enemy's Country, that they were not eaſily brought into order; ſo that the common people were generally better pleaſed with the Dutch Soldiers, than with their own Countrymen, but it was not the ſame as to the Officers. Theſe ſeeds of diſcontent, were carefully managed by the Enemies of the Government; and by thoſe means, matters went on heavily in the Houſe of Commons. The King was alſo believed to be ſo tender, in every point that ſeemed to relate to his Prerogative, that he could not well bear any thing that was a diminution of it: And he was ſaid to have taken a diſlike and miſtruſt of all thoſe, whoſe notions leaned to publick Liberty, tho' thoſe were the perſons that were the firmeſt to him, and the moſt zealous for him. The men, whoſe notions of the Prerogative were the higheſt, were ſuſpected to be Jacobites: Yet it was obſerved, that many of theſe were much courted, and put into Employments, in which they ſhewed ſo little affection to the Government, and ſo cloſe a Correſpondence with its profeſſed Enemies, that it was generally believed they intended to betray it. The blame of employing theſe men, was caſt on the Earl of Nottingham, who, as the Whigs ſaid, infuſed into the King Jealouſies of his beſt Friends, and inclined him to court ſome of his bittereſt Enemies.

1692. The taking off Parliament men, who complained of grievances, by Places and Penſions, was believed to be now very generally practiſed. Seimour, who had, in a very injurious manner, not only oppoſed every thing, but had reflected on the King's Title and Conduct, was this Winter brought

into the Treaſury, and the Cabinet Council: Yet tho' a great oppoſition was made, and many delays contrived, all the money that was aſked was at length given. Among the Bills that were offered to the King, at the end of the Seſſion, one was to ſecure the Judges Salaries; and to put it out of the King's power to ſtop them. The Judges had their Commiſſion, during their good behaviour: Yet their Salaries were not ſo ſecured to them, but that theſe were at the King's pleaſure. But the King put a ſtop to this, and refuſed to paſs the Bill: For it was repreſented to him, by ſome of the Judges themſelves, that it was not fit they ſhould be out of all dependence on the Court; tho' it did not appear, that there was any hurt in making Judges, in all reſpects, free and independent. A Parliament was ſummoned to meet in Ireland, to annul all that had paſſed in King James's Parliament; to confirm anew the Act of Settlement; and to do all other things, that the broken ſtate of that impoveriſhed Iſland required, and to grant ſuch Supplies as they could raiſe, and as the ſtate of their affairs would permit. 1692.

Affairs in Scotland were put in another method: Lord Tweedale was made Lord Chancellor, and not long after a Marquis in that Kingdom: Lord Melvill was put in a leſs important Poſt; and moſt of his creatures were laid aſide: But ſeveral of thoſe, who had been in Montgomery's Plot, were brought into the Council and Miniſtry. Johnſtoun, who had been ſent Envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg, was called home, and made Secretary of State for that Kingdom. It began ſoon to appear in Scotland, how ill the King was adviſed, when he brought in ſome of the Plotters into the chief Poſts of that Government: As this diſguſted the Preſbyterians, ſo it was very viſible, that thoſe pretended Converts came into his Service, only to have it in their power, to deliver up that Kingdom to King James. They ſcarce diſ- Affairs in Scotland.

1692. guiſed their deſigns; ſo that the truſting ſuch men amazed all people. The Preſbyterians had very much offended the King, and their fury was inſtrumental in raiſing great Jealouſies of him in England: He well foreſaw the ill effects this was like to have; and therefore he recommended to a General Aſſembly, that met this Winter, to receive the Epiſcopal Clergy, to concur with them in the Government of the Church, upon their deſiring to be admitted: And in caſe the Aſſembly could not be brought to conſent to this, the King ordered it to be diſſolved, without naming any other time or place of meeting. It was not likely, that there could be any agreement, where both Parties were ſo much inflamed one againſt another: And thoſe, who had the greateſt credit with both, ſtudied rather to exaſperate than to ſoften them. The Epiſcopal Party carried it high: They gave it out, that the King was now theirs; and that they were willing to come to a concurrence with Preſbytery, on deſign to bring all about to Epiſcopacy in a little time. The Preſbyterians, who at all times were ſtiff and peeviſh, were more than ordinarily ſo at this time: They were jealous of the King; their Friends were now diſgraced, and their bittereſt Enemies were coming into favour: So they were ſurly, and would abate in no point of their Government: And upon that, the Aſſembly was diſſolved. But they pretended, that by Law they had a right to an Annual meeting, from which nothing could cut them off; for they ſaid, according to a diſtinction much uſed among them, that the King's power of calling Synods and Aſſemblies was cumulative, and not privative; that is, he might call them if he would, and appoint time and place; but that, if he did not call them, they might meet by an inherent right that the Church had, which was confirmed by Law: Therefore they adjourned themſelves. This was repreſented to the King as a [illegible] train of inſolence, that invaded the Rights of

of the Crown, of which he was become very sen- 1692.
sible. Most of those, who came now into his Ser-
vice, made it their business to incense him against
the Presbyterians, in which he was so far engaged,
that it did alienate that party much from him.

The Affair of Glencoe.

There was, at this time, a very barbarous Mas-
sacre committed in Scotland, which shewed both
the cruelty and the treachery of some of those, who
had unhappily insinuated themselves into the King's
Confidence. The Earl of Braidalbin formed a
Scheme of quieting all the Highlanders, if the
King would give twelve or fifteen thousand pounds
for doing it, which was remitted down from Eng-
land: And this was to be divided among the heads
of the Tribes, or Clanns of the Highlanders. He
employed his Emissaries among them, and told
them, the best service they could do King James,
was to lie quiet, and reserve themselves to a better
time: And if they would take the Oaths, the King
would be contented with that, and they were to
have a share of this sum, that was sent down to
buy their quiet: But this came to nothing; their
demands rose high; they knew this Lord had
money to distribute among them; they believed
he intended to keep the best part of it to himself;
so they asked more than he could give. Among
the most clamorous and obstinate of these, were
the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who were believed
guilty of much robbery, and many murders; and
so had gained too much by their pilfering War,
to be easily brought to give it over. The head of
that Valley had so particularly provoked Lord Braid-
albin, that as his Scheme was quite defeated, by
the opposition that he raised, so he designed a se-
vere revenge. The King had, by a Proclamation,
offered an indemnity to all the Highlanders, that
had been in Arms against him, upon their coming
in, by a prefixed day, to take the Oaths: The day
had been twice or thrice prolonged; and it was at
last carried to the end of the Year 1691; with a

positive

1692. poſitive threatning, of proceeding to military execution, againſt ſuch as ſhould not come into his obedience, by the laſt day of December.

All were ſo terrified, that they came in; and even that Macdonald went to the Governor of Fort William, on the laſt of December, and offered to take the Oaths: But he, being only a military man, could not, or would not, tender them; and Macdonald was forced to ſeek for ſome of the Legal Magiſtrates, to tender them to him. The Snows were then fallen, ſo four or five days paſſed, before he could come to a Magiſtrate: He took the Oaths in his preſence, on the fourth or fifth of January, when, by the ſtrictneſs of Law, he could claim no benefit by it. The matter was ſignified to the Council; and the perſon had a reprimand, for giving him the Oaths, when the day was paſt.

This was kept up from the King: And the Earl of Braidalbin came to Court, to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, ſince he could not do the ſervice, for which he had it. He informed againſt this Macdonald, as the chief perſon, who had defeated that good deſign: And that he might both gratify his own revenge, and render the King odious to all the Highlanders, he propoſed, that Orders ſhould be ſent for a military execution, on thoſe of Glencoe. An Inſtruction was drawn by the Secretary of State, * to be both ſigned and counterſigned by the King (that ſo he might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lie wholly on the King) that ſuch as had not taken the Oaths, by the time limited, ſhould be ſhut out of the benefit of the Indemnity, and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found, that this would not authorize what was intended, a ſecond Order was got to be ſigned and counterſigned, that if the

* The Maſter of Stair was then Secretary of State.

Glencoe

Glencoe men could be ſeparated, from the reſt of the Highlanders, ſome Examples might be made of them, in order to ſtrike terror into the reſt. The King ſigned this, without any enquiry about it; for he was too apt to ſign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his ſlowneſs in diſpatching buſineſs; for as he was apt to ſuffer things to run on, till there was a great heap of papers laid before him; ſo then he ſigned them, a little too precipitately. But all this while, the King knew nothing of Macdonald's offering to take the Oaths, within the time, nor of his having taken them ſoon after it was paſt, when he came to a proper Magiſtrate. As theſe Orders were ſent down, the Secretary of State writ many private Letters to Levingſtoun, who commanded in Scotland, giving him a ſtrict charge and particular directions for the execution of them: And he ordered the paſſes in the Valley to be kept, deſcribing them ſo minutely, that the Orders were certainly drawn by one, who knew the Country well. He gave alſo a poſitive direction, that no Priſoners ſhould be taken, that ſo the execution might be as terrible as was poſſible. He preſſed this upon Levingſtoun, with ſtrains of vehemence, that looked as if there was ſomething more than ordinary in it: He indeed grounded it on his zeal for the King's ſervice, adding, that ſuch Rebels and Murderers ſhould be made Examples of. 1692.

In February, a Company was ſent to Glencoe, who were kindly received, and quartered over the Valley; the Inhabitants thinking themſelves ſafe, and looking for no Hoſtilities. After they had ſtaid a week among them, they took their time in the night, and killed about ſix and thirty of them, the reſt taking the alarm, and eſcaping: This raiſed a mighty out-cry, and was publiſhed by the French in their Gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their Libels, to caſt a reproach on the King's Government,

1692. vernment, as cruel and barbarous; tho' in all other instances it had appeared, that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess. The King sent Orders to inquire into the matter: But when the Letters, writ upon this business, were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared, that so many were involved in the matter, that the King's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault; and he contented himself with dismissing only the Master of Stair from his Service: The Highlanders were so inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a disposition, as the Jacobites could wish for, to have rebelled upon the first favourable opportunity: And indeed the not punishing this with a due rigour, was the greatest blot in this whole Reign, and had a very ill effect in alienating that Nation, from the King and his Government.

The Earl of Marlboro' disgraced.

An Incident happened near the end of this Session, that had very ill effects; which I unwillingly mention, because it cannot be told without some reflections on the memory of the Queen, whom I always honoured, beyond all the persons I had ever known. The Earl of Nottingham came to the Earl of Marlborough, with a message from the King, telling him, that he had no more use for his Service, and therefore he demanded all his Commissions. What drew so sudden and so hard a message was not known: For he had been with the King that morning, and had parted with him in the ordinary manner. It seemed, some Letter was intercepted, which gave suspicion: It is certain, that he thought he was too little considered, and that he had, upon many occasions, censured the King's conduct, and reflected on the Dutch. But the original cause of his disgrace, arose from another consideration: The Princess thought herself too much neglected by the King, whose cold way towards her, was soon observed: After the King was on the Throne, no propositions were made

made to her of a Settlement, nor any advances of money. So she, thinking she was to be kept in a necessitous dependance on the Court, got some to move in the House of Commons, in the year 1690, when they were in the Debate concerning the Revenue, that she should have assignments, suitable to her Dignity. This both King and Queen took amiss from her: The Queen complained more particularly, that she was then ill, after her lying-in of the Duke of Gloucester at Hampton-Court, and that she herself was treating her and the young child, with the tenderness of a mother, and that yet such a motion was made, before she had tried, in a private way, what the King intended to assign her. The Princess, on the other hand, said, she knew the Queen was a good wife, submissive and obedient to every thing that the King desired; so she thought, the best way was to have a Settlement by Act of Parliament: On the other hand, the custom had always been, that the Royal Family (a Prince of Wales not excepted) was kept in a dependance on the King, and had no allowance, but from his meer favour and kindness; yet in this case, in which the Princess was put out of the Succession, during the King's life, it seemed reasonable, that somewhat more than ordinary should be done in consideration of that. The Act past, allowing her a Settlement of fifty thousand pounds. But upon this a coldness followed, between not only the King, but even the Queen, and the Princess. And the blame of this motion was cast on the Countess of Marlborough, as most in favour with the Princess: And this had contributed much to alienate the King from her husband, and had disposed him to receive ill impressions of him. 1692.

A Breach between the Queen and the Princess.

Upon his disgrace, his Lady was forbid the Court: The Princess would not submit to this: She thought, she ought to be allowed to keep what persons she pleased about herself. And when the

Queen

1692. Queen inſiſted on the thing, ſhe retired from the Court. There were, no doubt, ill offices done on all hands, as there were ſome that preſſed the Princeſs to ſubmit to the Queen, as well as others who preſſed the Queen to paſs it over; but without effect: Both had engaged themſelves, before they had well reflected on the conſequences of ſuch a breach: And the matter went ſo far, that the Queen ordered, that no publick Honours ſhould be ſhewed the Princeſs, beſides many other leſſer matters, which I unwillingly reflect on, becauſe I was much troubled to ſee the Queen carry ſuch a matter ſo far: And the breach continued to the end of her life. The Enemies of the Government tried what could be made of this, to create diſtractions among us: But the Princeſs gave no encouragement to them. So that this miſunderſtanding had no other effect, but that it gave Enemies much ill-natured joy, and a ſecret ſpiteful diverſion.

Ruſſel commanded the Fleet.

The King gave Ruſſel the Command of the Fleet; tho' he had put himſelf on ill terms with him, by preſſing to know the grounds of the Earl of Marlborough's diſgrace: He had not only lived in great friendſhip with him, but had carried the firſt meſſages that had paſſed between him and the King, when he went over to Holland: He almoſt upbraided the King with the Earl of Marlborough's Services, who, as he ſaid, had ſet the Crown on his head. Ruſſel alſo came to be in ill terms with the Earl of Nottingham, who, as he thought, ſupported a faction among the Flag Officers againſt him: And he fell indeed into ſo ill an humour, on many accounts, that he ſeemed to be for ſome time in doubt, whether he ought to undertake the command of the Fleet, or not: I tried, at the deſire of ſome of his friends, to ſoften him a little, but without ſucceſs.

The King went over to Holland in March, to prepare for an early Campaign. He intimated ſomewhat

ſomewhat in his Speech to the Parliament, of a deſcent deſigned upon France: But we had neither men nor money to execute it. And, while we were pleaſing ourſelves with the thoughts of a deſcent in France, King James was preparing for a real one in England. It was intended to be made in the end of April: He had about him fourteen thouſand Engliſh and Iriſh: And Marſhal Belfonds was to accompany him, with about three thouſand French. They were to ſail from Cherbourg and La Hogue, and ſome other places in Normandy, and to land in Suſſex, and from thence to march with all haſte to London. A Tranſport-Fleet was alſo brought thither: They were to bring over only a ſmall number of horſes; for their party, in England, undertook to furniſh them with horſes, at their landing. At the ſame time, the King of France was to march with a great Army into Flanders; and he reckoned, that the deſcent in England, would either have ſucceeded, ſince there was a very ſmall force left within the Kingdom; or at leaſt, that it would have obliged the King to come over, with ſome of his Engliſh Troops: And in that caſe, which way ſoever the War of England had ended, he ſhould have maſtered Flanders, and ſo forced the States to ſubmit: And, in caſe other deſigns had failed, there was one in reſerve, managed by the French Miniſtry, and by Luxemburg, of aſſaſſinating the King, which would have brought about all their deſigns. The French King ſeemed to think the Project was ſo well laid, that it could not miſcarry: for he ſaid publickly, before he ſet out, that he was going to make an end of the War. We in England were all this while very ſecure, and did not apprehend we were in any danger. Both the King and his Secretaries were much blamed, for taking ſo little care to procure Intelligence: If the winds had favoured the French, they themſelves would have brought us the firſt

1692. A Deſcent in England, prepared by K. James.

news

1692. news of their design: They sent over some persons, to give their friends notice, but a very few days, before they reckoned, they should be on our Coast: One of these was a Scotchman, and brought the first discovery to Johnstoun: Orders were presently sent out, to bring together such Forces as lay scattered in Quarters: And a Squadron of our Fleet, that was set to Sea, was ordered to lay on the Coast of Normandy: But the Heavens fought against them more effectually, than we could have done. There was, for a whole month together, such a Storm that lay on their Coast, that it was not possible for them to come out of their Ports; nor could Marshal D'Estrees come about with the Squadron from Toulon, so soon as was expected. In the beginning of May, about forty of our Ships were on the Coast of Normandy, and were endeavouring to destroy their Transport Ships: Upon which, Orders were sent to Marshal Tourville, to sail to the Channel, and fight the English Fleet. They had a Westerly wind to bring them within the Channel: But then the wind struck into the East, and stood so long there, that it both brought over the Dutch Fleet, and brought about our great Ships. By this means, our whole Fleet was joined: So that Tourville's design, of getting between the several Squadrons that compo'ed it, was lost. The King of France, being then in Flanders, upon this change of wind, sent Orders to Tourville not to fight: Yet the Vessel that carried these was taken, and the duplicate of these Orders, that was sent by another conveyance, came not to him till the day after the Engagement.

A great Victory at Sea.

On the nineteenth of May, Russel came up with the French, and was almost twice their number; yet not above the half of his Ships could be brought into the Action, by reason of the winds: Rook, one of his Admirals, was thought more in fault. The number of the Ships that

engaged was almoſt equal: Our men ſaid, that the French neither ſhewed courage nor ſkill in the Action. The night and a fog ſeparated the two Fleets, after an Engagement that had laſted ſome hours. The greateſt part of the French Ships drew near their Coaſts; but Ruſſel not caſting anchor, as the French did, was carried out by the tide: So next morning he was at ſome diſtance from them. A great part of the French Fleet ſailed Weſtward, through a dangerous Sea, called the Race of Alderney: Aſhby was ſent to purſue them: And he followed them ſome leagues: But then, the Pilots pretending danger, he came back; ſo twenty ſix of them, whom if Aſhby had purſued, by all appearance, he had deſtroy'd them, got into St. Malo's. Ruſſel came up to the French Admiral, and the other Ships that had drawn near their Coaſts; Delaval burnt the Admiral, and his two Seconds: And Rook burnt ſixteen more before La Hogue. 1692.

It was believed, that if this Succeſs had been purſued with vigour, conſidering the conſternation, with which the French were ſtruck, upon ſuch an unuſual and ſurprizing blow, that this Victory might have been carried much farther than it was. But Ruſſel was provoked by ſome Letters and Orders, that the Earl of Nottingham ſent him from the Queen, which he thought were the effects of ignorance: And upon that he fell into a croſſneſs of diſpoſition: He found fault with every Order that was ſent him; but would offer no advices on his part. And he came ſoon after to St. Helen's; which was much cenſured; for tho' the diſabled Ships muſt have been ſent in, yet there was no ſuch reaſon for bringing in the reſt, that were not touched. Croſs winds kept them long in Port; So that a great part of the Summer was ſpent, before he went out again. The French had recovered out of the firſt diſorder, which had quite diſpirited them. A deſcent in France came

But not followed as it might have been.

1692. to be thought on, when it was too late: About ſeven thouſand men were ſhipped; And it was intended to land them at St. Malo's; But the Seamen were of opinion, that neither there, nor any where elſe, a deſcent was then practicable. They complained, that the Earl of Nottingham was ignorant of Sea affairs, and yet that he ſet on propoſitions relating to them, without conſulting Seamen, and ſent Orders which could not be obeyed, without endangering the whole Fleet. So the men, who were thus ſhipped, lay ſome days on board, to the great reproach of our Counſels: But that we might not appear too ridiculous, both at home and abroad, by landing them again in England; the King ordered them to be ſent over to Flanders, after they had been for ſome weeks on Shipboard: And ſo our Campaign at Sea, that began ſo gloriouſly, had a poor concluſion. The common reflection that was made on our conduct was, that the providence of God, and the valour of our men, had given us a victory, of which we knew not what uſe to make: And which was worſe, our Merchants complained of great loſſes this Summer; for the French having laid up their Fleet, let their Seamen go and ſerve in Privateers, with which they watched all the motions of our Trade: And ſo, by an odd Reverſe of things, as we made no conſiderable loſſes, while the French were Maſters of our Sea, two years before; ſo now, when we triumphed on that Element, our Merchants ſuffered the moſt. The concluſion of all was, Ruſſel complained of the Miniſtry, particularly of the Earl of Nottingham; and they complained no leſs of him; and the Merchants complained of the Admiralty: But they, in their own defence ſaid, that we had not Ships nor Seamen, both to furniſh out a great Fleet, and at the ſame time to ſend out Convoys for ſecuring the Trade.

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In Flanders, the design, to which the French trusted most, failed: That was laid for assassinating the King: One Grandval had been in treaty with Louvoy about it; And it was intended to be executed the former year. He joined with Du Mont to follow the King and shoot him, as he was riding about in his ordinary way, moving slowly, and visiting the posts of his army. The King of France had lost two Ministers, one after another. Seignelay died first, who had no extraordinary genius himself, but he knew all his father's methods, and pursued them so, that he governed his conduct, both by his father's maxims, and with his tools. Louvoy did not survive him long; He had more fire, and so grew uneasy at the authority Madam de Maintenon took in things which she could not understand: And was, in conclusion, so unacceptable to the King, that once, when he flung his bundle of papers down upon the floor before him, upon some provocation, the King lifted up his Cane: But the Lady held him from doing more: Yet that affront, as was given out, sunk so deep into Louvoy's spirits, that he died suddenly a few days after. Some said, it was of an Apoplexy; others suspected poison; for a man that knew so many secrets, would have been dangerous, if he had outlived his favour. His Son Barbesieux had the survivance of his place, and continued in it for some years; but, as he was young, so he had not a capacity equal to the post. He found, among his father's papers, a memorandum of this design of Grandval's: So he sent for him, and resolved to pursue it; in which Madam de Maintenon concurred, and Luxemburgh was trusted with the direction of it. Du Mont retired this winter to Zell, as one that had forsaken the French Service: From some practices and discourses of his, a suspicion arose, of which Sir William Colt, the King's Envoy there, gave notice: So one Leefdale, a Dutch Papist, was secretly sent to Paris, as a

1692. A Design to assassinate the King.

1692. person that would enter into the design: But, in reality, went on purpose to discover it.

Grandval suffered for it, and confesses it.

Grandval and he came back to Flanders, to set about it: But Leefdale brought him into a party, that seized on him: Both King James and his Queen, were, as Grandval said, engaged in the design: One Parker, whom they employed in many black designs, had concerted the matter with Grandval, as he confessed, and had carried him to King James, who encouraged him to go on with it, and promised great rewards. When Grandval saw there was full proof against him, he confessed the whole series of the management, without staying till he were put to the torture. Mr. Morel of Berne, a famous Medalist, (who had, for some years, the charge of the French King's cabinet of medals, but being a Protestant, and refusing to change his Religion, was kept a close prisoner in the Bastile for seven years) was let out in April this year. And, before he left Paris, his curiosity carried him to St. Germains, to see King James: He happened both to go and come back in the Coach with Grandval; And while he was there, he saw him in private discourse with King James: Grandval was full of this project, and, according to the French way, he talked very loosely to Morel, not knowing who he was; but fancied he was well affected to that Court. He said there was a design in hand, that would confound all Europe: For the Prince of Orange, so he called the King, would not live a month. This Morel writ over to me in too careless a manner; for he directed his Letter with his own hand, which was well known at Court; Yet it came safe to me. The King gave Orders, that none belonging to him should go near Grandval, that there might be no colour for saying, that the hopes of life had drawn his Confession from him: Nor was he strictly interrogated concerning Circumstances; but was left to tell his story, as he pleased himself.

He was condemned; and ſuffered with ſome ſlight remorſe, for going into a deſign to kill a King: His Confeſſion was printed. But how black ſoever it repreſented the Court of France, no notice was taken of it: Nor did any of that Court offer to diſown or diſprove it, but let it paſs and be forgotten: Yet ſo blind and violent was their party among us, that they reſolved they would believe nothing, that either blemiſhed King James, or the French Court. 1692.

Namur was taken by the French.

But tho' this miſcarried, the French ſucceeded in the Siege of Namur: A place of great importance, that commanded both the Maeſe and Sambre, and covered both Liege and Maſtricht: The Town did ſoon capitulate, but the Citadel held out much longer. The King came with a great Army to raiſe the Siege; Luxemburgh lay in his way with another to cover it, and the Mehaigne lay between. The King intended to paſs the River, and force a Battle; but ſuch Rains fell, the night before he deſigned to do it, and the River ſwelled ſo much, that he could not paſs it for ſome days: He tried, by another motion, to come and raiſe the Siege. But the Town having capitulated ſo early, and the Citadel laying on the other ſide of the Sambre, he could not come at it: So after a month's Siege it was taken. This was looked on as the greateſt action of the French King's life; that, notwithſtanding the depreſſion of ſuch a defeat at Sea, he yet ſupported his meaſures, ſo as take that important place, in the view of a great Army. The King's conduct was on this occaſion much cenſured: It was ſaid, he ought to have put much to hazard, rather than ſuffer ſuch a place to be taken in his ſight.

After Namur ſurrendred, that King went back to Paris in his uſual method; for, according to the old Perſian Luxury, he uſed to bring the Ladies with him, with the Muſick, Poems, and Scenes, for an Opera, and a Ball; in which he and his

1692. actions were to be set out, with the pomp of much flattery. When this action was over, his Forces lay on the Defensive, and both Armies made some motions, watching and waiting on one another.

The Battle of Steenkirk.

At Steenkirk, the King thought he had a favourable occasion for attacking the French, in their Camp: But the ground was found to be narrower, and less practicable, than the King had been made to believe it was. Ten Battalions begun the Attack, and carried a Post with Cannon, and maintained it long, doing great execution on the Enemy: and if they had been supported, or brought off, it had proved a brave attempt: But they were cut in pieces. In the whole action, the French lost many more men than the Confederates did; for they came so thick, that our fire made great execution. The conduct of this affair was much censured. It was said, the ground ought to have been better examined, before the attack was begun; and the men ought to have been better maintained, than they were: For many thought, that if this had been done, we might have had a total Victory. Count Solms bore the blame of the errors, committed on this occasion. The English had been sometimes check'd by him, as he was much disgusted with their heat and pride: So they charged all on him, who had some good Qualities; but did not manage them in an obliging manner. We lost in this action about five thousand men, and many brave Officers; here Mackay was killed, being ordered to a Post that he saw could not be maintained: He sent his opinion about it; but the former Orders were confirmed: So he went on, saying only, The Will of the Lord be done. He was a man of such strict principles, that he would not have served in a War that he did not think lawful. He took great care of his Soldiers morals, and forced them to be both sober and just in their Quarters: He spent all the time that he was

maſter of, in ſecret Prayers, and in reading of the Scriptures. The King often obſerved, that when he had full leiſure for his devotions, he acted with a peculiar exaltation of courage. He had one very ſingular quality; In Councils of War, he delivered his opinion freely, and maintained it with due zeal; But how poſitive ſoever he was in it, if the Council of War over-ruled it, even though he was not convinced by it, yet to all others he juſtified it, and executed his part with the ſame zeal, as if his own opinion had prevailed. After the Action at Steenkirk, there was little done this Campaign. A Detachment, that the King ſent from his Army, joined with thoſe Bodies that came from England, broke in ſome way into the French Conqueſts: They fortified Dixmuyde and Furnes, and put the Country about them under Contribution, and became very uneaſy neighbours to Dunkirk. The Command of thoſe Places was given to the Count of Horn, who underſtood well the way to make all poſſible advantages by Contributions; but he was a man of no great worth, and of as little courage. This diſguſted the Engliſh ſtill more; who ſaid, the Dutch were always truſted and preferred, while they were neglected. They had ſome colour to cenſure this choice the following winter: For, upon the motion of ſome French troops, Horn (without ſtudying to amuſe the Enemy, or to gain time, upon which much may depend in Winter) did immediately abandon Dixmuyde. All he had to juſtify himſelf, was a Letter from the Elector of Bavaria, telling him, that he could ſend him no relief; and therefore he ordered him to take care of the Garriſon, which was of more importance than the Place itſelf. Thus the Campaign ended in Flanders; Namur was loſt; the Reputation of the King's conducting Armies was much ſunk, and the Engliſh were generally diſcontented, and alienated from the Dutch. 1692.

1692. Nothing was done on the Rhine. The Elector of Saxony had promiſed to bring an Army thither: But Shening his General, who had great power over him, was gained by the French, to break his deſign. The Duke of Saxony complained, that the Emperor favoured the Circles of Franconia and Swabia ſo much, that he could have no good quarters aſſigned him for his Army: And upon this occaſion it was ſaid, that the Emperor drew much money from thoſe Circles, that they might be covered from Winter quarters; and that he applied all that to carrying on the War in Hungary; and ſo left the weight of the War with France, to lie very heavy on the Princes of the Empire. This conteſt went on ſo high, that Shening, who was thought the ill inſtrument in it, going for his health to the Hot Baths in Bohemia, was ſeized on by the Emperor's Orders; upon which, great expoſtulations paſſed between the Courts of Vienna and Dreſden. There were two ſmall Armies, that acted ſeparately on the Rhine, under the Command of the Landgrave of Heſſe, and the Marquis of Bareith: But they were not able to cover the Empire: And another ſmall Army, brought together by the Duke of Wirtemberg, for the Defence of his Country, was totally defeated; Not only Cannon and Baggage, but the Duke himſelf fell into the Enemies hands.

Affairs in Germany.

Affairs in Hungary.

But, tho' the Emperor did, as it were, abandon the Empire to the French, he made no great progreſs in Hungary: The Turks lay upon a defenſive; and the Seaſon was ſpent in motions, without either Battle or Siege. There was ſtill ſome diſcourſe, but no great probability of Peace. Two Engliſh Ambaſſadors dying, the one Sir Thomas Huſſay, ſoon after his arrival at Conſtantinople; and the other Mr. Harbord, on his way thither; the Lord Paget, then our Ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court, was ordered to go thither, to mediate

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the Peace. He found the Mediation was, in a great measure, ſpoiled by the Dutch Ambaſſador, before his arrival; for he had been prevailed on, by the Court of Vienna, to offer the Mediation of the Dutch upon a very high ſcheme. Caminieck, and the Ukrain, and Podolia, with Moldavia, and Valachia, were demanded for Poland: Tranſilvania, with the perſon of Count Tekeli, for the Emperor; and Achaia and Livadia, as an Antemurale to cover the Morea, for the Venetians. The Court of Vienna, by offering ſuch a Project, reckoned the War muſt go on, which they deſired. The Miniſters of the Port, who were gained by the French to carry on the War, were glad to ſee ſo high a Project; They were afraid of Tumults; So they ſpread this Project over the whole Empire, to ſhew, on what ignominious terms the Mediation was propoſed; And by that they juſtified their going on with the War. But the Lord Paget offered the King's Mediation upon another Project; which was, that every Prince was to keep what he was then poſſeſſed of: And Caminieck was only demanded to be razed. If this had been offered at firſt, the Ottoman Court durſt not have refuſed it; the people were become ſo weary under a long and unproſperous War: But the Vizier ſuppreſſed this, and made it ſtill paſs among them, that the Engliſh preſſed the ſame Project, that the Dutch had propoſed; which was the more eaſily believed there, becauſe how ignorant ſoever they were at that Court, they knew well what an intereſt the King of England had in the States. So the War was ſtill carried on there: And Trumbal, who came over to England at this time, told the King, that if inſtead of ſending Embaſſies, he would ſend a powerful Fleet into the Mediterranean, to deſtroy the French Trade, and ſtop the Commerce with Turkey, he would quickly bring that Court to other meaſures, or raiſe ſuch tumults among them, 1692.

1692. them, as would ſet that Empire, and even Conſtantinople itſelf, all in a flame.

Affairs in Piedmont. In Piedmont, the Campaign was opened very late; and the French were on the defenſive: So the Duke of Savoy entred into Dauphiny with an Army: And if he had carried on that attempt with the Spirit, with which he began it, he had put the affairs of France on that ſide into great diſorder: But he was either ill ſerved, or betrayed in it: He ſat down before Ambrun, and beſieged it in form: So that a place, which he might have carried in three days, coſt him ſome weeks: And in every ſtep, he made it appear, there was either a great feebleneſs, or much treachery in his Counſels. He made no great progreſs; Yet the diſorder that even this threw that and the neighbouring Provinces into, was very great. He was ſtopped by the Small Pox, which ſaved his honour, as much as it endangered his perſon: The retreat of his Army, when his life was in danger, looked like a due caution. He recovered of the Small Pox, but a ferment remained ſtill in his Blood, and broke out ſo often into feveriſh relapſes, that it was generally thought he was poiſoned. Many months paſſed, before he was out of danger. So the Campaign ended there with conſiderable loſſes to the French, but with no great advantage to the Duke. The greateſt prejudice the French ſuffered this year, was from the Seaſon; They had a very bad harveſt, and no vintage in the Northern parts. We in England had great apprehenſions of as bad a harveſt, from a very cold and wet Summer. Great deluges of rain continued till the very time of reaping. But, when we were threatned with a famine, it pleaſed God to ſend ſuch an extraordinary change of the Seaſon, that we had a very plentiful crop, enough both to ſerve ourſelves, and to ſupply our neighbours, which made us eaſy at home, and brought in much wealth, for that Corn which we were able to ſpare.

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In the beginning of September, there was an Earthquake felt in moſt places in England; and was at the ſame time felt in many parts of France, Germany, and the Netherlands. No harm was done by it, tho' it continued for three or four minutes. I can write nothing of it from my own Obſervation; for it was not ſenſible in the place where I happened to be at that time; nor can it be determined, whether this had any relation to thoſe terrible Earthquakes that happened, ſome months after this, in Sicily and Malta: Upon which I cannot enlarge, having ſeen no other account of them, than what was in publick Gazettes, which repreſented them as the dreadfulleſt by much, of any that are in Hiſtory: It was eſtimated, that about one hundred thouſand perſons periſhed by them in Sicily. It is ſcarce to be imagined, that the Earthquake, which about the ſame time deſtroyed the beſt part of the chief Town in Jamaica, could have any connection with theſe in Europe. Theſe were very extraordinary things, which made thoſe, who ſtudied Apocalyptical matters, imagine that the end of the World drew near. It had been happy for us, if ſuch diſmal accidents had ſtruck us with a deeper ſenſe of the Judgments of God. 1692. A great Earthquake.

We were indeed brought to more of an outward face of virtue and ſobriety: And the great examples, that the King and Queen ſet the Nation, had made ſome conſiderable alterations, as to publick practices: But we became deeply corrupted in principle: A diſbelief of Revealed Religion, and a profane mocking at the Chriſtian Faith, and the Myſteries of it, became avowed and ſcandalous. The Queen, in the King's abſence, gave orders to execute the Laws againſt Drunkenneſs, Swearing, and the Profanation of the Lord's Day; and ſent directions over England, to all Magiſtrates to do their duty in executing them; to which the King joined his Authority, upon his return to England. Yet the Reformation of Manners, which A great Corruption over England.

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1692. ſome zealous men ſtudied to promote, went on but ſlowly: Many of the inferior Magiſtrates were not only remiſs, but very faulty themſelves: They did all they could to diſcourage thoſe, who endeavoured to have Vice ſuppreſſed and puniſhed: And it muſt be confeſſed, that the behaviour of many Clergymen gave Atheiſts no ſmall advantage: They had taken the Oaths, and read the Prayers for the preſent Government; they obſerved the Orders for publick Faſts and Thankſgivings; and yet they ſhewed in many places their averſion to our Eſtabliſhment but too viſibly: So that the offence that this gave, in many parts of the Nation, was too evident: In ſome places, it broke out in very indecent Inſtances, that were brought into Courts of Law, and cenſured. This made many conclude, that the Clergy were a ſort of men, that would ſwear and pray, even againſt their Conſciences, rather than loſe their Benefices; and by conſequence, that they were governed by Intereſt, and not by Principle. The Jacobites grew ſtill to be more and more outrageous, while the Clergy ſeemed to be Neutrals in the diſpute; and which was yet the moſt extraordinary thing in the whole matter, the Government itſelf acted with ſo much remiſſneſs, and ſo few were enquired after or puniſhed, that thoſe who were employed by the King, behaved themſelves in many places, as if they had ſecret Inſtructions to be heavy upon his beſt friends, and to be gentle to his Enemies. Upon the whole matter, the Nation was falling under ſuch a general corruption, both as to Morals and Principles; and that was ſo much ſpread among all ſorts of people, that it gave us great apprehenſions of heavy Judgments from Heaven.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The Seſſion of Parliament was opened under great diſadvantages. The Earl of Marlborough, and ſome other Peers, had been put in the Tower, upon a falſe accuſation of High Treaſon, which was evidently proved to be a Conſpiracy, deſigned by

by ſome profligate creatures, who fancied that forgeries and falſe ſwearing would be as acceptable, and as well rewarded, in this Reign, as they had been formerly. But till this was detected, the perſons accuſed were kept in Priſon; and were now only out upon Bail: So it was ſaid to be contrary to the nature and freedom of Parliaments, for Priſoners to ſit in it. It was confeſſed, that in times of danger, and ſuch was the former Summer, it muſt be truſted to the diſcretion of a Government, to commit ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected: But when the danger was over, by our Victory at Sea, thoſe againſt whom there lay nothing beſides ſuſpicions, ought to have been ſet at liberty: And this was thought reaſonable. There was an Aſſociation pretended to be drawn againſt the Government, to which the Subſcriptions of many Lords were ſet ſo dexterouſly, that the Lords themſelves ſaid, they could not diſtinguiſh between their true Subſcriptions, and thoſe that were forged for them. But the manner of the diſcovery, with ſeveral other circumſtances, carried ſuch marks of Impoſture, that the Lords of the Council ordered a ſtrict proſecution of all concerned in it, which ended in a full conviction of the forgery: And thoſe who had combined in it, were whipt and pilloried, which, to the reproach of our Conſtitution, is the only puniſhment that our Law has yet provided for ſuch practices. The Lords paſſed ſome Votes, aſſerting their Privileges; and were offended with the Judges, for detaining ſome in priſon, tho' there was no reaſon nor colour for their diſpleaſure. But where the Privilege, or the Dignity of Peerage is in queſtion, it is not eaſy to keep the Houſe within bounds. 1690.

The Debate went off in a Bill, that indemnified the Miniſtry for thoſe Commitments, but limited them, for the future, by ſeveral rules; all which rules were rejected by the Commons. They thought thoſe Limitations gave a Legal power to commit,

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1692. in cases where they were observed; whereas they thought the safer way was, to indemnify the Ministry, when it was visible they did not commit any but upon a real danger, and not to set them any rules: Since, as to the committing of suspected persons, where the danger is real and visible, the publick safety must be first looked to, and supersede all particular Laws. When this was over, an attempt was made in both Houses, for the Abjuration of King James: The King himself was more set on it, than he had been formerly. It was rejected by the House of Commons: And tho' some steps were made in it by the Lords, yet the opposition was so great, that it was let fall.

The affairs at Sea occasioned much heat in both Houses. The Earl of Nottingham laid before the Lords, upon an Address they had made to the King, all the Letters that had past between himself and Russel; with all the Orders he had sent him: And he aggravated Russel's errors and neglects very severely. But the House of Commons justified Russel, and gave him thanks over and over again; and remained so fixed in this, that tho' the Lords then communicated the papers, the Earl of Nottingham had laid before them, to the Commons, they would not so much as read them, but renewed their first Votes, that justified Russel's fidelity, courage, and conduct.

Jealousies of the King's Ministers.

The King was now possessed against him: For he dismissed him from his Service, and put the Command of the Fleet into the hands of three persons, Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel: The two first were thought so inclinable to King James's Interests, that it made some insinuate, that the King was in the hands of those, who intended to betray him to his Enemies: For tho' no exception lay against Shovel, yet it was said, he was only put with the other Two, to give some reputation to the Commission, and that he was One against Two; so

so that he could neither hinder nor do any thing. The chief blame of this Nomination was thrown on the Earl of Nottingham; and of those, who belonged to his Office, many stories were raised and spread about, as if there had been among them, besides a very great remissness in some of the concerns of the Government, an actual betraying of all our Secrets and Counsels. The opinion of this was spread both within and without the Kingdom; and most of our Confederates were possessed with it. He justified not only himself, but all his Under Secretaries; both King and Queen continued still to have a good opinion of his fidelity; but they saw some defects in his Judgment, with a most violent Party heat, that appeared upon all occasions, and even in the smallest matters. The Bills for the supply went on with a heavy progress in the House of Commons; those who could not oppose them, yet shewed their ill humour in delaying them, and clogging them with unacceptable clauses all they could. And they continued that wasteful method, of raising money upon remote Funds; by which there lay a heavy discount on Tallies; so that above a fourth part was, in some of them, to be discounted: The parties of Whig and Tory appeared almost in every debate, and in every question. 1692.

Complaints in Parliament.

The ill humour prevailed most in the House of Lords, where a strong opposition was made to every thing that was proposed for the Government. They past many Votes, and made many Addresses to the King, which were chiefly designed to load the Administration, and to alienate the King from the Dutch. The Commons begun with great complaints of the Admiralty: And then they had the conduct in Flanders, particularly in the Action at Steenkirk, before them: And they voted some heads of an Address relating to those matters: But by a secret management, they let the whole thing fall, after they had passed those angry Votes. Any thing that the Lords could do, was of less moment,

1692. ment, when it was not like to be ſeconded by the Commons; yet they ſhewed much ill humour.

1693. This was chiefly managed by the Marquis of Halifax, and the Earl of Mulgrave; and they drew in the Earl of Shrewſbury, who was very ill pleaſed with the credit, that ſome had with the King, and lived in a particular friendſhip with the Earl of Marlborough; and thought that he was both ungratefully and unjuſtly perſecuted. Theſe Lords had all the Jacobites ready to aſſiſt them, in every thing that could embroil matters; a great many Whigs, who were diſcontented, and jealous of the Miniſtry, joined with them: They knew that all their murmuring would ſignify little, unleſs they could ſtop a Money-bill: And, ſince it was ſettled in the Houſe of Commons as a maxim, that the Lords could not make any alterations in Money-bills; when the Bill for four ſhillings in the pound Land-tax came up, they put their ſtrength to carry a clauſe, that the Peers ſhould tax themſelves. And tho', in the way in which this clauſe was drawn up, it could not be defended, yet they did all that was poſſible, to put a ſtop to the Bill; and with unuſual vehemence preſſed for a delay, till a Committee ſhould be appointed to examine Precedents. This the Earl of Mulgrave preſſed for many hours, with a force of Argument and Eloquence, beyond any thing that I had ever heard in that Houſe. He inſiſted much upon the dignity of Peerage; and made this, which was now propoſed, to be ſo main a part of that dignity, that he exhauſted all the topicks of Rhetorick, to convince the Lords, that, if they yielded to this, they diveſted themſelves of their true greatneſs; and nothing would remain, but the name and ſhadow of a Peer, which was but a Pageant. But after all the pomp and heat of his Oratory, the Lords conſidered the ſafety of the Nation,

Nation, more than the ſhadow of a Privilege; and ſo they paſſed the Bill. 1693.

Theſe Lords alſo ſet on foot a propoſition, that had never been offered, but when the Nation was ready to break out into Civil Wars; and that was, that a Committee of Lords and Commons ſhould be appointed to confer together, concerning the ſtate of the Nation: This once begun, would have grown in a very ſhort time, to have been a Council of State; and they would ſoon have brought all affairs under their inſpection; but this was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed, that it was ſoon let fall.

When the Party, that was ſet againſt the Court, ſaw they could carry nothing in either Houſe of Parliament, then they turned their whole ſtrength againſt the preſent Parliament, to force a diſſolution; and in order to that, they firſt loaded it with a name of an ill ſound; and, whereas King Charles's Long Parliament was called the Penſioner Parliament, they called this the Officer's Parliament; becauſe many, that had Commands in the Army, were of it: And the word, that they gave out among the people, was, that we were to be governed by a ſtanding Army, and a ſtanding Parliament. They tried to carry a Bill, that render'd all Members of the Houſe of Commons incapable of places of truſt or profit; ſo that every Member that accepted a place, ſhould be expelled the Houſe, and be incapable of being choſen again, to ſit in the current Parliament. The truth was, it came to be obſerved, that ſome got credit by oppoſing the Government; and that to ſilence them, they were preferred: And then they changed their note, and were as ready to flatter, as before to find fault. This gave a ſpecious colour to thoſe, who charged the Court with deſigns of corrupting Members, or at leaſt of ſtopping their mouths by places and penſions. When this Bill was ſet on, it went through the Houſe of Commons with little or no difficulty: Thoſe who were in places had not

1693. ſtrength and credit to make great oppoſition to it, they being the perſons concerned, and looked on as Parties: And thoſe who had no places, had not the courage to oppoſe it; for in them it would have looked as an art to recommend themſelves to one. So the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Commons: But it was rejected by the Lords; ſince it ſeemed to eſtabliſh an oppoſition between the Crown and the People, as if thoſe who were employed by the one, could not be truſted by the other.

A Bill to exclude Members of Parliament from Places.

When this failed, another attempt was made in the Houſe of Lords; in a Bill that was offered, enacting, That a Seſſion of Parliament ſhould be held every year, and a new Parliament be ſummoned every third year, and that the preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved within a limited time. The Statutes, for Annual Parliaments in King Edward the firſt, and King Edward the third's time, are well known. But it is a queſtion, whether the ſuppoſition "if need be" falls upon the whole Act, or only upon thoſe words, "or oftner:" It is certain theſe Acts were never obſerved; and the non-obſervance of them was never complained of as a grievance. Nor did the famous Act in King Charles the firſt's time, carry the neceſſity of holding a Seſſion further, than to once in three years. Antiently, conſidering the haſte and hurry in which Parliaments ſat, an annual Parliament might be no great inconvenience to the Nation: But by reaſon of the ſlow methods of Seſſions now, an annual Parliament in times of peace would become a very inſupportable greivance. A Parliament of a long continuance, ſeemed to be very dangerous, either to the Crown, or to the Nation: If the conjuncture, and their proceedings, gave them much credit, they might grow very uneaſy to the Crown, as happened in King Charles the firſt's time; or in another ſituation of affairs, they might be ſo practiſed upon by the Court, that they might give

Another for a Triennial Parliament.

all the money, and all the liberties of England up, when they were to have a large ſhare of the money, and were to be made the inſtruments of Tyranny; as it was like to have been in King Charles the ſecond's time. It was likewiſe hoped, that frequent Parliaments would put an end to the great expence Candidates put themſelves to in Elections; and that it would oblige the Members to behave themſelves ſo well, both with relation to the Publick, and in their private deportment, as to recommend them to their Electors at three years end: Whereas when a Parliament was to ſit many years, Members covered with Privileges were apt to take great liberties, forgot that they repreſented others, and took care only of themſelves. So it was thought, that England would have a truer Repreſentative, when it was choſen anew every third year, than when it run on to the end of a Reign. All that was objected againſt this was, that frequent Elections would make the Freeholders proud and inſolent, when they knew that applications muſt be made to them at the end of three years: This would eſtabliſh a Faction in every body of men, that had a right to an Election; and whereas now an Election put men to a great charge all at once, then the charge muſt be perpetual all the three years, in laying in for a new Election, when it was known how ſoon it muſt come round. And as for the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, ſome were for leaving it to the general triennial clauſe, that it might ſtill ſit three years; they thought that, during ſo critical a War, as that in which we were now engaged, it was not adviſable to venture on a new Election; ſince we had ſo many among us, who were ſo ill affected to the preſent Eſtabliſhment: Yet it was ſaid, this Parliament had already ſat three years; and therefore, it was not conſiſtent with the general reaſon of the Act, to let it continue longer. So the Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords: And tho' a Bill from them, 1693.

1693. diſſolving a Parliament, ſtruck only at the Houſe of Commons, the Lords being ſtill the ſame men; ſo that, upon that ſingle account, many thought they would have rejected it, yet they alſo paſſed it, and fixed their own diſſolution to the twenty fifth of March in the next year; ſo that they reſerved another Seſſion to themſelves. The King let the Bill lie for ſome time on the Table; ſo that mens eyes and expectations were much fixed on the iſſue of it. But in concluſion, he refuſed to paſs it; ſo the Seſſion ended in ill humour. The rejecting a Bill, tho' an unqueſtionable right of the Crown, has been ſo ſeldom practiſed, that the two Houſes are apt to think it a hardſhip, when there is a Bill denied.

A Change in the Miniſtry.

But to ſoften the diſtaſte this might otherwiſe give, the King made conſiderable alterations in his Miniſtry. All people were now grown weary of the Great Seal's being in Commiſſion: It made the proceedings in Chancery to be both more dilatory, and more expenſive: And there were ſuch exceptions made to the Decrees of the Commiſſioners, that Appeals were brought againſt moſt of them, and frequently they were reverſed. Sir John Somers had now got great reputation, both in his Poſt of Attorney General, and in the Houſe of Commons: So the King gave him the Great Seal. He was very learned in his own Profeſſion, with a great deal more Learning in other Profeſſions, in Divinity, Philoſophy, and Hiſtory. He had a great capacity for buſineſs, with an extraordinary temper; for he was fair and gentle, perhaps to a fault, conſidering his Poſt: So that he had all the patience and ſoftneſs, as well as the juſtice and equity, becoming a great Magiſtrate. He had always agreed in his notions with the Whigs; and had ſtudied to bring them to better thoughts of the King, and to a greater confidence in him. Trenchard was made Secretary of State: He had been engaged far with the Duke of Monmouth, as

was

was told formerly. He got out of England, and lived ſome years beyond Sea, and had a right underſtanding of affairs abroad: He was a calm and ſedate man; and was much more moderate than could have been expected, ſince he was a leading man in a party. He had too great a regard to the Stars, and too little to Religion. The bringing theſe men into thoſe Poſts, was aſcribed chiefly to the great credit the Earl of Sunderland had gained with the King; he had now got into his confidence, and declared openly for the Whigs. Theſe advancements had a great effect on the whole party; and brought them to a much better opinion of the King. A young man, Mr. Montague, a branch of the Earl of Mancheſter's family, began to make a great figure in the Houſe of Commons. He was a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and ſoon after made Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had great vivacity and clearneſs, both of thought and expreſſion: His ſpirit was at firſt turned to Wit and Poetry, which he continued ſtill to encourage in others, when he applied himſelf to more important buſineſs. He came to have great notions, with relation to all the concerns of the Treaſury, and of the Publick Funds, and brought thoſe matters into new and better methods: He ſhewed the error of giving money upon remote Funds, at a vaſt diſcount, and with great premiums to raiſe Loans upon them; which occaſioned a great out-cry, at the ſums that were given, at the ſame time that they were much ſhrunk, before they produced the money that was expected from them. So he preſſed the King to inſiſt on this as a maxim, to have all the money for the ſervice of a year, to be raiſed within that year. 1693.

Factions formed againſt the Court.

But as the employing theſe men had a very good effect on the King's affairs, ſo a party came to be now formed, that ſtudied to croſs and defeat every thing: This was led by Seimour and Muſgrave.

1693. The laſt was a Gentleman of a noble family in Cumberland, whoſe life had been regular, and his deportment grave. He had loſt a place in King James's time: For tho' he was always a high Tory, yet he would not comply with his deſigns. He had indeed contributed much to increaſe his revenue, and to offer him more than he aſked; yet he would not go into the taking off the Teſts. Upon the Revolution, the place out of which he had been turned, was given to a man, that had a good ſhare of merit in that great event. This alienated him from the King: And he, being a man of good judgment, and of great experience, came to be conſidered as the Head of the Party; in which he found his account ſo well, that no offers that were made him, could ever bring him over to the King's Intereſts. Upon many critical occaſions, he gave up ſome important points, for which the King found it neceſſary to pay him very liberally.

But the Party of the Tories was too inconſiderable to have raiſed a great oppoſition, if a Body of Whigs had not joined with them: Some of theſe had ſuch Republican notions, that they were much ſet againſt the Prerogative: And they thought the King was become too ſtiff in maintaining it: Others were offended, becauſe they were not conſidered nor preferred, as they thought they deſerved. The chief of theſe were, Mr. Paul Foley and Mr. Harley: The firſt of theſe was a younger ſon of one, who from mean beginnings had, by Iron Works, raiſed one of the greateſt eſtates that had been in England in our time. He was a learned, tho' not a practiſing Lawyer; and was a man of virtue and good principles, but moroſe and wilful: And he had the affectation of paſſing for a great Patriot, by his conſtant finding fault with the Government, and venting an ill humour, and a bad opinion of the Court. Harley was a man of a noble family, and very eminently learned; much

much turned to Politicks, and of a reſtleſs Ambition. He was a man of great induſtry and application; and knew forms, and the Records of Parliament ſo well, that he was capable both of lengthening out, and of perplexing debates. Nothing could anſwer his aſpiring temper: So he and Foley joined with the Tories to create jealouſies, and raiſe an oppoſition. They ſoon grew to be able to delay matters long; and ſet on foot ſome very uneaſy things, that were popular; ſuch as the Bill againſt Parliament-men being in places, and that for diſſolving the Parliament, and for having a new one every third year. 1693.

That which gave them much ſtrength was, the King's cold and reſerved way: He took no pains to oblige thoſe that came to him; nor was he eaſy of acceſs: He lived out of Town at Kenſington; and his chief Confidents were Dutch. He took no notice of the Clergy, and ſeemed to have little concern in the matters of the Church, or of Religion: And at this time ſome Atheiſts and Deiſts, as well as Socinians, were publiſhing Books againſt Religion in general, and more particularly againſt the Myſteries of our Faith. Theſe expreſſed great zeal for the Government; which gave a handle to thoſe, who were waiting for all advantages, and were careful of increaſing and improving them, to ſpread it all over the Nation, that the King, and thoſe about him, had no regard to Religion, nor to the Church of England.

But now I go on to the tranſactions of this Summer: The King had, in his Speech to the Parliament, told them, he intended to land a conſiderable Army in France this year. So after the Seſſion, Orders were given for hiring a Fleet for Tranſports, with ſo great a train of Artillery, that it would have ſerved an Army of forty thouſand men. This was very acceptable to the whole Nation, who loved an active War; and were very uneaſy to ſee ſo much money paid, and ſo little done with

1693. it: But all this went off without any effect. The French had attempted this Winter the Siege of Rhinfeldt, a place of no great conſequence. But it lay upon the Rhine, not far from Coblentz; and by it Franconia would have been open to them. They could not cut off the communication by the Rhine; ſo that freſh ſupplies of men and proviſions were every day ſent to them, by the care of the Landgrave of Heſſe, who managed the matter with ſuch ſucceſs, that after a fortnight's ſtay before it, the French were forced to raiſe the Siege; which was a repulſe ſo ſeldom given them, that upon it ſome ſaid, they were then ſenſible that Louvoy was dead. The French had alſo made another attempt upon Huy, of a ſhorter continuance, but with the like ſucceſs. The Campaign was opened with great Pomp in Flanders; for the King of France came thither in perſon, accompanied by the Ladies of the Court, which appeared the more ridiculous, ſince there was no Queen at the head of them; unleſs Madam de Maintenon was to be taken for one, to whom reſpects were indeed paid with more ſubmiſſion, than is commonly done to Queens; ſo that what might be wanting in the outward ceremony, was more than ballanced by the real authority that ſhe had. It was given out, that the King of France, after he had amuſed the King for ſome days, intended to have turned either to Bruſſels on the one hand, or to Liege on the other. In the mean while the French were working on the Dutch, by their ſecret practices, to make them hearken to a ſeparate Peace: And the ill humour that had appeared in the Parliament of England againſt them, was an argument much made uſe of, to convince them how little ground they had to truſt to their Alliance with England: So that, as French practices had raiſed this ill humour among us, they made now this uſe of it, to break our mutual confidence, and by conſequence our Alliance with the States. The King made

Affairs in Flanders.

made great haſte, and brought his Army much ſooner together than the French expected: He encamped at Park near Louvain; by which he broke all the French meaſures: For he lay equally well poſted to relieve Bruſſels or Liege. It was grown the more neceſſary to take care of Liege; becauſe tho' the Biſhop was true to the Allies, yet there was a faction formed among the Capitulators, to offer themſelves to the French; but the Garriſon adhered to the Biſhop: And now, when ſo great an Army lay near them, they broke the meaſures which that faction had taken. The French King, ſeeing that the practices of treachery, on which he chiefly relied, ſucceeded ſo ill, reſolved not to venture himſelf in any dangerous enterprize; ſo he and the Ladies went back to Verſailles. 1693.

Affairs in the Empire.

The Dauphin, with a great part of the Army, was ſent to make head againſt the Germans, who had brought an Army together, commanded by the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and the Prince of Baden: The Germans moved ſlowly, and were retarded by ſome diſputes about the Command: So that the French came on to Heidelberg, before they were ready to cover it. The Town could make no long reſiſtance; but it was too ſoon abandoned by a timorous Governor. The French were not able to hinder the conjunction of the Germans, tho' they endeavoured it; they advanced towards them. And tho' the Dauphin was much ſuperior in numbers, and ſtudied to force them to action, yet they kept cloſe; and he did not think fit to attack them in their Camp. The French raiſed great contributions in the Wirtemberg; but no action happened on the Rhine all this Campaign. The French had better ſucceſs and leſs oppoſition in Catalonia: They took Roſes, and advanced to Barcelona, expecting their Fleet, which was to have bombarded it from the Sea, while their Army attacked it by Land. This put all Spain under a great conſternation: The deſign

of

1693. of this Invaſion was, to force them to treat of a ſeparate Peace; while they felt themſelves ſo vigorouſly attacked, and ſaw that they were in no condition to reſiſt.

Affairs in Piedmont. Affairs in Piedmont gave them a ſeaſonable relief: The Duke of Savoy's motions were ſo ſlow, that it ſeemed, both ſides were reſolved to lie upon the defenſive. The French were very weak there, and they expected to be as weakly oppoſed. But in the end of July, the Duke began to move: And he obliged Catinat to retire with his ſmall Army, having made him quit ſome of his Poſts. And then he formed the Siege of St. Bridget, a fort that lay above Pignerol, and, as was believed, might command it. After twelve days Siege, the French abandoned it, and he was maſter of it. But he was not furniſhed for undertaking the Siege of Pignerol; and ſo the Campaign went off in Marches and Countermarches: But in the end of it, Catinat, having increaſed his Army by ſome detachments, came up to the Duke of Savoy. They engaged at Orbaſſon, where the honour of the action, but with that the greateſt loſs, fell to the French: For tho' they carried it by their numbers, their bodies being leſs ſpent and fuller, yet the reſiſtance that was made was ſuch, that the Duke of Savoy gained more in his reputation, than he ſuffered by the loſs of the day.

The Battle of Landen. The two Armies lay long in Flanders, watching one another's motions, without coming to action. In July, Luxemburg went to beſiege Huy, and carried it in two or three days. The King moved that way, on deſign either to raiſe the Siege, or to force a Battle. Thoſe in Huy did not give him time to come to their relief: And Luxemburg made a feint towards Liege, which obliged the King to ſend ſome Battalions to reinforce the Garriſon of that Place. He had alſo ſent another great detachment, commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg, to force the French Lines, and to put their Country

Country under Contribution; which he executed with great ſucceſs, and raiſed above four millions. Luxemburg thought this was an advantage not to be loſt: So that, as ſoon as he had received Orders from the King of France to attack the King in his Camp, he came up to him near Landen, upon the River Gitte. He was about double the King's number, chiefly in Horſe. The King might have ſecured himſelf from all attacks, by paſſing the River: And his conduct in not doing it, was much cenſured, conſidering his ſtrength, and the Enemy's. He choſe rather to ſtay for them; but ſent away the Baggage and heavy Cannon to Mechlin; and ſpent the whole night in planting Batteries, and caſting up Retrenchments. On the twenty ninth of July, the French began their attack, early in the morning, and came on with great reſolution, tho' the King's Cannon did great execution: They were beat off, with the loſs of many Officers in ſeveral attacks: Yet they came ſtill on with freſh Bodies; till at laſt, after an action of ſeven or eight hours continuance, they broke through, in a place where there was ſuch a Body of German and Spaniſh Horſe, that the Army on no ſide was thought leſs in danger. Theſe Troops gave way; and ſo the French carried the honour of the day, and were maſters both of the King's Camp and Cannon: But the King paſſed the river, and cut the bridges, and lay ſecure out of reach. He had ſupported the whole action with ſo much courage, and ſo true a judgment, that it was thought, he got more honour that day, than even when he triumphed at the Boyne. He charged himſelf in ſeveral places: Many were ſhot round about him, with the Enemies Cannon: One muſket-ſhot carried away part of his ſcarf, and another went through his hat, without doing him any harm. The French loſt ſo many men, and ſuffered ſo much, in the ſeveral onſets they had made, that they were not able to purſue a Victory, which

1693.

1693. which coſt them ſo dear. We loſt in all about 7000: And among theſe, there was ſcarce an Officer of note; only the Count de Solms had his Leg ſhot off by a Cannon Ball, of which he died in a few hours. By all the accounts that came from France, it appeared, that the French had loſt double the number, with a vaſtly greater proportion of Officers. The King's behaviour, during the Battle, and in the retreat, was much magnified by the Enemy, as well as by his own ſide. The King of France was reported to have ſaid upon it, that Luxemburg's behaviour was like the Prince of Conde's, but the King's like M. Turenne's. His Army was, in a few days, as ſtrong as ever, by recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Battallions he had ſent to Liege, and ſome other Bodies that he drew out of Garriſons. And the reſt of the Campaign paſt over, without any other action; only at the end of it, after the King had left the Army, Charleroy was beſieged by the French: The Country about it had been ſo eat up, that it was not poſſible to ſubſiſt an Army, that might have been brought to relieve it: The Garriſon made a brave reſiſtance, and held out a month; but it was taken at laſt.

Charleroy taken by the French.

Attemp's made for a Peace.

Thus the French triumphed every where: But their ſucceſſes were more than ballanced by two bad harveſts, that came ſucceſſively one after another: They had alſo ſuffered much in their vintage; ſo that they had neither bread nor wine. Great diligence was uſed to bring in Corn from all parts; and ſtrict Orders were given by that Court, for regulating the price of it, and for furniſhing their Markets: There was alſo a liberal diſtribution ordered by that King, for the relief of the poor. But miſery will be miſery ſtill, after all poſſible care to alleviate it: Great multitudes periſhed for want, and the whole Kingdom fell into an extream poverty: So that all the pomp of their Victories could not make them eaſy at home.

They

They tried all poſſible methods for bringing about a general Peace; or if that failed, for a ſeparate Peace with ſome of the Confederates: But there was no diſpoſition in any of them to hearken to it; nor could they engage the Northern Crowns to offer their mediation. Some ſteps were indeed made; for they offered to acknowledge the preſent Government of England: But in all other points, their demands were ſtill ſo high, that there was no proſpect of a juſt Peace, till their affairs ſhould have brought them to an humbler poſture. 1693.

Our Affairs at Sea.

But while the Campaign, in all its ſcenes, was thus unequal and various, the French, tho' much weaker at Sea, were the moſt ſucceſsful there: And tho' we had the ſuperior ſtrength, we were very unproſperous; and by our ill conduct we loſt much, both in our honour and intereſt, on that Element. The great difficulty that the French were under in their Marine was, by reaſon of their two great Ports, Breſt and Toulon; and from the bringing their Fleets together, and ſending them back again. The danger they ran in that, and the delays that it put them under, were the chief occaſions of their loſſes laſt year: But theſe were, in a great meaſure, made up to them now. We were ſending a very rich Fleet of Merchant Ships to the Mediterranean, which was valued at many millions: Some of theſe had lain ready a year and a half, waiting for a Convoy, but were ſtill put off by new delays; nor could they obtain one after Ruſſel's Victory, tho' we were then Maſters at Sea. They were promiſed a great one in Winter. The number of the Merchant Ships did ſtill increaſe; ſo that the Convoy, which was at firſt deſigned, was not thought equal to the riches of the Fleet, and to the danger they might run by Ships, that might be ſent from Toulon to intercept them. The Court of France was watching this carefully: A Spy among the Jacobites gave advice, that certain Perſons ſent from Scotland to

1693. France, to ſhew with how ſmall a force they might make themſelves Maſters of that Kingdom, had hopes given them for ſome time: Upon which ſeveral military men went to Lancaſhire and Northumberland, to ſee what could be expected from thence, if commotions ſhould happen in Scotland. But in February the French ſaid, they could not do what was expected: And the Scotch Agents were told, that they were obliged to look after the Smirna Fleet; which they reckoned might be of more conſequence, than even the carrying Scotland could be. The Fleet was ready in February, but new excuſes were again made; for it was ſaid, the Convoy muſt be increaſed to twenty Men of War: Rook was to command it: A new delay was likewiſe put in, on the pretence of ſtaying for advice from Toulon, whether the Squadron that was laid up there, was to lie in the Mediterranean this year, or to come about to Breſt. The Merchants were very uneaſy under thoſe delays; ſince the charge was like to eat up the profit of the Voyage: But no diſpatch could be had; and very probable reaſons were offered to juſtify every new retardment. The French Fleet had gone early out of Toulon, on deſign to have deſtroyed the Spaniſh Fleet, which lay in the Bay of Puzzolo: But they lay ſo ſafe there, that the French ſaw they could not ſucceed in any attempt upon them: Afterwards they ſtood off to the Coaſt of Catalonia, to aſſiſt their Army, which was making ſome Conqueſts there. Yet theſe were only feints to amuſe and to cover their true deſign. The Fleet at Breſt ſailed away from thence ſo ſuddenly, that they were neither compleatly manned nor victualled; and they came to Lagos Bay in Algarve. Tenders were ſent after them, with the neceſſary Complement of men and proviſions: This ſudden and unprovided motion of the French Fleet, looked as if ſome ſecret advice had been ſent from England, acquainting them with our deſigns. But at the Secre-

Secretary's office, not only there was no Intelligence concerning their Fleet, but when a Ship came in, that brought the news of their having ſailed from Breſt, they were not believed. Our main Fleet ſailed out into the Sea, for ſome leagues with Rook, and the Merchant Ships: And when they thought they were out of danger, they came back. Rook was unhappy in that, which, upon any other occaſion, would have been a great happineſs: He had a fair and a ſtrong gale of wind; ſo that no advice ſent after him could overtake him: Nor did he meet with any Ships at Sea, that could give him notice of the danger that lay before him. He doubled the Cape of St. Vincent, and had almoſt fallen in with the French Fleet, before he was aware of it. He dreamed of no danger, but from the Toulon Squadron, till he took a Fire-ſhip; the Captain whereof endeavoured to deceive him, by a falſe ſtory, as if there had been only fifteen men of War lying at Lagos, that intended to join D'Eſtrees. The Merchants were for going on, and believed the information: They were confirmed in this, by the diſorder the French ſeemed to be in; for they were cutting their cables, and drawing near the Shore. The truth was, when they ſaw Rook's Fleet, they apprehended, by their numbers, that the whole Fleet of England was coming towards them: And indeed had they come ſo far with them, here was an occaſion offered, which perhaps may not be found again in an Age, of deſtroying their whole ſtrength at Sea. But as the French ſoon perceived their error, and were forming themſelves into a Line, Rook ſaw his error likewiſe, and ſtood out to Sea, while the Merchants fled, as their fears drove them; a great many of them ſticking ſtill cloſe to him: Others ſailed to Cadiz, and ſome got to Gibraltar: And inſtead of purſuing their Voyage, put in there: Some Ships were burnt or ſunk, and a very ſmall number was taken by the French.

1693.

The Turky Fleet in great danger.

They

1693. They did not purſue Rook, but let him ſail away to the Maderas; and from thence he came, firſt to Kinſale, and then into England. The French tried what they could do upon Cadiz; but found that it was not practicable. They came next to Gibraltar, where the Merchants ſunk their Ships, to prevent their falling into their hands: From thence they ſailed along the Coaſt of Spain, and burnt ſome Engliſh and Dutch Ships, that were lying at Malaga, Alicant, and in ſome other places. They hoped to have deſtroyed the Spaniſh Fleet; but they put in at Port-Mahon, where they were ſafe. At length, after a very glorious Campaign, the French came back to Toulon. It is certain, if Tourville had made uſe of all his advantages, and had executed the deſign, as well as it was projected, he might have done us much miſchief: Few of our Men of War, or Merchant-men, could have got out of his hands. The loſs fell heavieſt on the Dutch: The Voyage was quite loſt; and the diſgrace of it was viſible to the whole World, and very ſenſible to the trading part of the Nation.

Great Jealouſies of the King's Miniſtry.

The appearances were ſuch, that it was generally ſurmiſed, our Counſels were betrayed. The Secretary, that attended on the Admirals, was much ſuſpected, and charged with many things: But the ſuſpicions roſe high, even as to the Secretary of State's office. It was ſaid, that our Fleet was kept in port, till the French were laid in their way, and was then ordered to ſail, that it might fall into their hands. Many particulars were laid together, which had ſuch colours, that it was not to be wondred at, if they created jealouſy, eſpecially in minds ſufficiently prepared for it. Upon enquiry it appeared, that ſeveral of thoſe, who, for the laſt two years, were put in the ſubaltern employments, through the Kingdom, did upon many occaſions ſhew a diſaffection to the Government, and talked and acted like Enemies. Our want of intelligence of the motions of the French, while they

they seemed to know every thing that we either did, or designed to do, cast a heavy reproach upon our Ministers, who were now broke so in pieces, that they acted without union or concert: Every one studied to justify himself, and to throw the blame on others: A good share of this was cast on the Earl of Nottingham: The Marquis of Caermarthen was much suspected: The Earl of Rochester began now to have great credit with the Queen; and seemed to be so violently set against the Whigs, that they looked for dreadful things from him, if he came again to govern: For, being naturally warm, and apt to heat himself in company, he broke out into Sallies, which were carried about, and began to create jealousies, even of the Queen herself. 1693.

I was in some sort answerable for this: For, when the Queen came into England, she was so possessed against him, that he tried all his Friends and Interest in the Court, to be admitted to clear himself, and to recover her favour, but all in vain; for they found her so alienated from him, that no person would undertake it. Upon that he addressed himself to me: I thought that, if he came into the service of the Government, his relation to the Queen would make him firm and zealous for it: And I served him so effectually, that the Queen laid aside all her resentments, and admitted him, by degrees, into a high measure of favour and confidence. I quickly saw my error; and he took pains to convince me effectually of it: For he was no sooner possessed of her favour, than he went into an interest, very different from what I believed he would have pursued. He talked against all favour to Dissenters, and for setting up the notions of Persecution and Violence, which he had so much promoted in King Charles's time, and professed himself an enemy to the present Bishops, and to the methods they were taking, of preaching and visiting their Dioceses, of obliging the Clergy to

1693. attend more carefully to their Functions, and of endeavouring to gain the Diſſenters by gentle and calm methods.

The State of the Clergy and Church.

The King had left the matters of the Church wholly in the Queen's hands. He found he could not reſiſt Importunities, which were not only vexatious to him, but had drawn preferments from him, which he came ſoon to ſee were ill beſtowed: So he devolved that care to the Queen, which ſhe managed with ſtrict and religious prudence. She declared openly againſt the preferring of thoſe, who put in for themſelves; and took care to inform herſelf particularly of the merits of ſuch of the Clergy, as were not ſo much as known at Court, nor uſing any methods to get themſelves recommended: So that we had reaſon to hope, that, if this courſe ſhould be long continued, it would produce a great change in the Church, and in the temper of the Clergy. She conſulted chiefly with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom ſhe favoured and ſupported in a moſt particular manner. She ſaw what need there was of it: For a party was formed againſt him, who ſet themſelves to cenſure every thing he did. It was a melancholy thing to conſider that, tho' we never ſaw an Archbiſhop before him, apply himſelf ſo entirely, without partiality or biaſs, to all the concerns of the Church and Religion, as he did; and that the Queen's heart was ſet on promoting them, yet ſuch an evil ſpirit ſhould ſeem to be let looſe upon the Clergy. They complained of every thing that was done, if it was not in their own way: And the Archbiſhop bore the blame of all. He did not enter into any cloſe correſpondence, or the concerting meaſures with the Miniſtry, but lived much abſtracted from them: So they ſtudied to depreſs him all they could. This made a great impreſſion upon him. He grew very uneaſy in his great Poſt: We were all ſoon convinced, that there was a ſort of Clergymen among us, that would never be ſatisfied,

tisfied, as long as the Toleration was continued: And they ſeemed reſolved to give it out, that the Church was in danger, till a proſecution of Diſſenters ſhould be again ſet on foot: Nor could they look at a man with patience, or ſpeak of him with temper, who did not agree with them in theſe things. The Biſhops fell under the diſpleaſure of the Whigs, by the methods they took, not only of protecting, but of preferring ſome of theſe men, hoping by that means both to have ſoftened them and their friends: But they took their preferments, as the rewards that they ſuppoſed were due to their merit; and they employed the credit and authority which their preferments brought them, wholly againſt thoſe to whom they owed them. The Whigs were much turned againſt the King; and were not pleaſed with thoſe who had left them, when they were ſo violent in the beginning of this Reign: And it was a hard thing, in ſuch a divided time, to reſolve to be of no party, ſince men of that temper are puſhed at by many, and protected by no ſide. Of this we had many inſtances at that time: And I myſelf had ſome very ſenſible ones; but they are too inconſiderable to be mentioned. In this bad ſtate we were, when a Seſſion of Parliament came on with great apprehenſions, occaſioned by our ill ſucceſs, and by the King's temper, which he could no way conſtrain, or render more complaiſant, but chiefly from the diſpoſition of mens minds, which was practiſed on with great induſtry, by the enemies of the Government, who were driving on Jealouſies daily. 1693.

A Parliament had been ſummoned in Ireland by the Lord Sidney: But they met full of diſcontent, and were diſpoſed to find fault with every thing. And there was too much matter to work upon: For the Lord Lieutenant was apt to excuſe or juſtify thoſe, who had the addreſs to inſinuate themſelves into his favour: So that they were diſmiſſed, before they brought their Bills to perfection. The Affairs in Ireland.

1693. Engliſh in Ireland thought the Government favoured the Iriſh too much; ſome ſaid, this was the effect of Bribery, whereas others thought, it was neceſſary to keep them ſafe from the proſecutions of the Engliſh, who hated them, and were much ſharpned againſt them. The protecting the Iriſh was indeed in ſome ſort neceſſary, to keep them from breaking out, or from running over to the French: But it was very plain, that the Iriſh were Iriſh ſtill, enemies to the Engliſh Nation, and to the preſent Government: So that all kindneſs ſhewed them, beyond what was due in ſtrict juſtice, was the cheriſhing an inveterate enemy. There were alſo great complaints of an ill Adminiſtration, chiefly in the Revenue, in the pay of the Army, and in the embezzelling of Stores. Of theſe, much noiſe was made in England, which drew Addreſſes from both Houſes of Parliament to the King, which were very invidiouſly penned: Every particular being ſeverely aggravated. So the King called back the Lord Sidney, and put the Government of Ireland into three Lords Juſtices; Lord Capel, Brother to the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb. When they were ſent from Court, the Queen did very earneſtly recommend to their care, the reforming of many diſorders, that were prevailing in that Kingdom: For, neither had the late deſtructive War, out of which they were but beginning to recover themſelves, nor their poverty, produced thoſe effects that might have been well expected.

The Queen's Strictneſs and pious Deſigns.

The ſtate of Ireland leads me to inſert here a very particular inſtance of the Queen's pious care, in the diſpoſing of Biſhopricks: Lord Sidney was ſo far engaged in the intereſt of a great Family of Ireland, that he was too eaſily wrought on, to recommend a Branch of it to a vacant See. The preſentation was made with an undue character of the perſon: So the Queen granted it. But when ſhe underſtood, that he lay under a very bad character

racter, she wrote a letter, in her own hand, to Lord Sidney, letting him know what she had heard, and ordered him to call for six Irish Bishops, whom she named to him, and to require them to certify to her their opinion of that person: They all agreed, that he laboured under an ill fame: And, till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote him; so that matter was let fall. I do not name the person; for I intend not to leave a blemish on him: But set this down as an Example, fit to be imitated by Christian Princes. 1693.

Another effect of the Queen's pious care of the Souls of her people was finished this year, after it had been much opposed, and long stopped. Mr. Blair, a very worthy man, came over from Virginia, with a proposition for erecting a College there. In order to which, he had set on foot a voluntary Subscription, which arose to a great Sum: And he found out some branches of the Revenue there, that went all into private hands, without being brought into any publick account, with which a Free-School and College might be well endowed. The English born there were, as he said, capable of every thing, if they were provided with the means of a good education; and a foundation of this kind in Virginia, that lay in the middle, between our Southern and Northern Plantations, might be a common Nursery to them all; and put the people born there, in a way of further improvement. Those concerned in the management of the Plantations, had made such advantages of those particulars, out of which the Endowment was to be raised, that all possible objections were made to the Project, as a design that would take our Planters off from their mechanical employments, and make them grow too knowing, to be obedient and submissive. The Queen was so well pleased with the design, as apprehending the very good effects it might have, that no objection against it could move her: She hoped, it might

1693. be a means of improving her own people, and of preparing ſome to propagate the Goſpel among the Natives; and therefore, as ſhe eſpouſed the matter with a particular zeal, ſo the King did very readily concur with her in it. The Endowment was fixed, and the Patent was paſſed for the College, called from the Founders, the William and Mary College.

Affairs in Scotland.

Affairs in Scotland grew more and more out of joint. Many whom the King had truſted in the Miniſtry there, were thought enemies to Him and his Government; and ſome took ſo little care to conceal their inclinations, that, when an Invaſion was looked for, they ſeemed reſolved to join in it. They were taken out of a Plot, which was managed by perſwading many to take Oaths to the Government, on deſign to betray it; and were now truſted with the moſt important Poſts. The Preſbyterians began to ſee their error, in driving matters ſo far, and in provoking the King ſo much; and they ſeemed deſirous to recover his favour, and to manage their matters with more temper. The King came likewiſe to ſee, that he had been a little too ſudden in truſting ſome, who did not deſerve his confidence. Duke Hamilton had for ſome years withdrawn from buſineſs; but he was now prevailed with to return to Council; many Letters were intercepted between France and Scotland: In thoſe from Scotland, the eaſineſs of engaging that Nation was often repeated, if no time were loſt; it ſeemed therefore neceſſary to bring that Kingdom into a better ſtate.

A Seſſion of Parliament there.

A Seſſion of Parliament was held there, to which Duke Hamilton was ſent as the King's Commiſſioner; the Supplies that were aſked were granted; and now the whole Preſbyterian Party was again entire in the King's Intereſt; the matters of the Church were brought to more temper, than was expected: The Epiſcopal Clergy had more moderate terms offered them; they were only required

to

to make an Addreſs to the General Aſſembly, offering to ſubſcribe to a Confeſſion of Faith, and to acknowledge Preſbytery to be the only Government of that Church, with a promiſe to ſubmit to it; upon which, within a fortnight after they did that, if no matter of ſcandal was objected to them, the Aſſembly was either to receive them into the Government of the Church; or, if they could not be brought to that, the King was to take them into his protection, and maintain them in their Churches, without any dependance on the Preſbytery. This was a ſtrain of Moderation, that the Preſbyterians were not eaſily brought to; a ſubſcription that owned Preſbytery to be the only Legal Government of that Church, without owning any Divine Right in it, was far below their uſual pretenſions. And this Act veſted the King with an authority, very like that which they were wont to condemn as Eraſtianiſm. Another act was alſo paſſed, requiring all in any Office in Church or State, to take, beſides the Oath of Allegiance, a Declaration called the Aſſurance, owning the King and Queen to be their rightful and lawful Sovereigns, and promiſing Fidelity to them againſt King James, and all his Adherents. The Council was alſo impowered to tender theſe, as they ſhould ſee cauſe for it, and to fine and impriſon ſuch as ſhould refuſe them. When the Seſſion was near an end, Nevil Payne was brought before the Parliament, to be examined, upon the many Letters that had been intercepted. There was a full evidence againſt him in many of his own Letters; but he ſent word to ſeveral of the Lords, in particular to Duke Hamilton, that as long as his Life was his own, he would accuſe none: But he was reſolved he would not die; and he could diſcover enough to deſerve his pardon. This ſtruck ſuch terror into many of them, whoſe Sons or near Relations had been concerned with him, that he moving for a delay, on a pretence of ſome witneſſes that were not then at 1693.

1693. hand, a time was given him beyond the continuance of the Seſſion; ſo he eſcaped, and that enquiry was ſtifled: The Seſſion ended calmly. But the King ſeemed to have forgot Scotland ſo entirely, that he let three months go over, before he took notice of any of their Petitions: And, tho' he had aſked, and had Supplies for an Augmentation of Forces; and many had been gained to conſent to the Tax, by the hope of Commiſſions in the Troops, that were to be levied; yet the King did not raiſe any new ones, but raiſed the Supply, and applied it to other uſes: This began again to raiſe an ill humour, that had been almoſt quite laid down, in the whole courſe of this Seſſion, which was thought a reconciling One. The Clergy let the day prefixed, for making their ſubmiſſion to the Aſſembly, ſlip, and did not take the Oaths; ſo they could claim no Benefit by the Act, that had been carried in their favour, not without ſome difficulty. And the Law, that was intended to ſave them, did now expoſe them to ruin; ſince by it, they, not taking the Oaths, had loſt their Legal Rights to their Benefices. Yet they were ſuffered to continue in them, and were put in hope, that the King would protect them, tho' it was now againſt Law. They were alſo made to believe, that the King did not deſire that they ſhould take the Oaths, or make any ſubmiſſion to Preſbytery: And it is certain, that no publick ſignification of the King's mind was made to them; ſo they were eaſily impoſed on by ſurmizes and whiſpers; upon this the diſtractions grew up afreſh. Many concluded there, as well as in England, that the King's heart led him ſtill to court his Enemies, even after all the manifeſt reaſons he had to conclude, that the ſteps they made towards him were only feign'd Submiſſions, to gain ſuch a Confidence, as might put it in their power to deliver him up.

The

The Earl of Middletoun went over to France, in the beginning of this Year: And it was believed, he was ſent by a great body among us, with a Propoſition, which, had he had the aſſurance to have made, and they the wiſdom to have accepted, might have much increaſed our Factions and Jealouſies. It was, that King James ſhould offer to reſign his Title in favour of his Son, and likewiſe to ſend him to be bred in England, under the direction of a Parliament, till he ſhould be of Age: but I could never hear that he ventured on this advice; in another he ſucceeded better. When King James thought the Invaſion from Normandy, the former Year, was ſo well laid, that he ſeemed not to apprehend it could miſcarry, he had prepared a Declaration, of which ſome Copies came over. He promiſed nothing in it, and pardoned no body by it. But he ſpoke in the ſtile of a Conquerour, who thought he was Maſter, and therefore would limit himſelf by no promiſes, but ſuch as were conceived in general words, which might be afterwards expounded at pleaſure. This was much blamed, even by his own party, who thought that they themſelves were not enough ſecured by ſo looſe a Declaration: So the Earl of Middletoun, upon his going over, procured one of another ſtrain, which, as far as Words could go, gave all content: For he promiſed every thing, and pardoned all perſons. His Party got this into their hands. I ſaw a Copy of it, and they waited for a fit occaſion to publiſh it to the Nation. 1693. The Earl of Middletoun went to France.

We were alſo at this time alarmed with a Negotiation, that the Court of France was ſetting on Foot at Madrid: They offered to reſtore to the Crown of Spain all that had been taken from it, ſince the Peace of Munſter, on condition that the Duke of Anjou ſhould be declared the Heir of that Crown, in default of Iſſue by the King: The Grandees of Spain, who are bred up to a diſregard and contempt of all the World beſides themſelves, were inclinable The Duke of Anjou offered to the Spaniards.

1693. inclinable to entertain this Propoſition; tho' they ſaw that by ſo doing, they muſt loſe the Houſe of Auſtria, the Elector of Bavaria, and many of their other Allies. But the King himſelf, weak as he was, ſtood firm and intractable; and ſeemed to be as much ſet on watching their conduct, as a man of his low Genius could poſſibly be. He reſolved to adhere to the Alliance, and to carry on the War; tho' he could do little more than barely reſolve on it. The Spaniards thought of nothing, but their Intrigues at Madrid; and for the management of the War, and all their affairs, they left the care of that to their Stars, and to their Allies.

The Duke of Shrewsbury is again made Secretary of State.

The King came over to England in November; he ſaw the neceſſity of changing both his Meaſures and his Miniſters; he expreſſed his diſlike of the whole conduct at Sea; and named Ruſſel for the Command of the Fleet next Year: He diſmiſſed the Earl of Nottingham, and would immediately have brought the Earl of Shrewſbury again into the Miniſtry: But when that Lord came to him, he thought the King's Inclinations were ſtill the ſame, that they had been for ſome Years, and that the turn, which he was now making, was not from choice, but force; ſo that went off; and the Earl of Shrewſbury went into the Country: Yet the King ſoon after ſent for him, and gave him ſuch aſſurances, that he was again made Secretary of State, to the general ſatisfaction of the Whigs. But the perſon, that had the King's Confidence to the higheſt degree, was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an aſcendant over him, and had more credit with him, than any Engliſhman ever had: He had brought the King to this Change of Councils, by the proſpect he gave him of the ill condition his affairs were in, if he did not entirely both truſt and ſatisfy thoſe, who, in the preſent conjuncture, were the only party,

party, that both could and would ſupport him. 1693.
It was ſaid, that the true ſecret of this change of meaſures was, that the Tories ſignified to the King plainly, that they could carry on the War no longer, and that therefore he muſt accept of ſuch a Peace, as could be had: This was the moſt pernicious thing that could be thought on, and the moſt contrary to the King's notions and deſigns; but they being poſitive, he was forced to change hands, and to turn to the other Party; ſo the Whigs were now in favour again, and every thing was done that was like to put them in good humour. The Commiſſion of the Lieutenancy for the City of London, on which they had ſet their hearts, much more perhaps than it deſerved, was ſo altered, that the Whigs were the ſuperior number; and all other Commiſſions over England were much changed. They were alſo brought into many places of Truſt and Profit; ſo that the King put his affairs chiefly into their hands: Yet ſo, that no Tory, who had expreſſed zeal or affection for the Government, was turned out. Upon this, the Whigs expreſt new zeal, and confidence in the King. All the Money that was aſked, for the next Year's expence, was granted very readily.

A Bank erected.

Among other Funds that were created, One was for conſtituting a Bank, which occaſioned great debates: Some thought a Bank would grow to be a Monopoly. All the Money of England would come into their hands; and they would in a few years become the Maſters of the Stock and Wealth of the Nation. Others argued for it: That the credit it would have, muſt increaſe Trade and the circulation of Money, at leaſt in Bank Notes. It was viſible, that all the Enemies of the Government ſet themſelves againſt it, with ſuch a vehemence of zeal, that this alone convinced all people, that they ſaw the ſtrength that our affairs would receive from it. I had heard the Dutch often reckon up the great advantages they had from their Banks;

and

1693. and they concluded that, as long as England continued jealous of the Government, a Bank could never be ſettled among us, nor gain credit enough to ſupport itſelf: And upon that, they judged that the ſuperiority in Trade muſt ſtill lie on their ſide. This, with all the other remote Funds that were created, had another good effect: It engaged all thoſe, who were concerned in them, to be, upon the account of their own Intereſt, zealous for maintaining the Government; ſince it was not to be doubted, but that a Revolution would have ſwept all theſe away. The advantages that the King, and all concerned in Tallies, had from the Bank, were ſoon ſo ſenſibly felt, that all people ſaw into the ſecret reaſons, that made the Enemies of the Conſtitution ſet themſelves with ſo much earneſtneſs againſt it.

The Conduct of the Fleet examined.

The enquiry into the conduct at Sea, particularly, with relation to the Smirna Fleet, took up much time, and held long: Great exceptions were taken to the many delays; by which it ſeemed a train was laid, that they ſhould not get out of our Ports, till the French were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them. Our want of Intelligence was much complained of: The Inſtructions that the Admirals, who commanded the Fleet, had received from the Cabinet Council, were thought ill given, and yet worſe executed; their Orders ſeem'd weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective: Nor had they ſhewed any zeal in doing more, than ſtrictly to obey ſuch orders: They had very cautiouſly kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle: They had uſed no diligence to get certain information, concerning the French Fleet, whether it was ſtill in Breſt, or had ſailed out; but in that important matter, they had truſted general and uncertain reports too eaſily: Nor had they ſailed with Rook, till he was paſt danger. To all this their anſwer was, that they had obſerved their Orders; they had

had reaſon to think, the French were ſtill in Breſt; 1693.
that therefore it was not ſafe to ſail too far from the Coaſt of England, when they had (as they underſtood) ground to believe, that they had left behind them a great Naval force, which might make an impreſſion on our Coaſt, when they were at too great a diſtance from it; the getting certain Intelligence from Breſt, was repreſented as impracticable. They had many ſpecious things to ſay in their own defence, and many friends to ſupport them; for it was now the buſineſs of one party to accuſe, and of another to juſtify that conduct. In concluſion, there was not ground ſufficient to condemn the Admirals; as they had followed their Inſtructions: So a Vote paſſed in their favour. The reſt of the buſineſs of the Seſſion was managed both with dexterity and ſucceſs: All ended well, tho' a little too late: For the Seſſion was not finiſhed before the end of April. Prince Lewis of Baden came this Winter to concert meaſures with the King: He ſtayed above two Months in England, and was treated with very ſingular reſpects, and at a great expence.

The Tories began in this Seſſion, to obſtruct the 1694.
King's Meaſures more openly than before; the
Earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham did it in the The Government miſrepreſented.
Houſe of Lords, with a peculiar edge and violence: They ſaw how great a reputation, the fair Adminiſtration of Juſtice by the Judges, and more particularly that Equity, which appeared in the whole proceedings of the Court of Chancery, gave the Government; therefore they took all occaſions, that gave them any handle to reflect on theſe. We had many ſad declamations, ſetting forth the Miſery the Nation was under, in ſo tragical a ſtrain, that thoſe who thought it was quite otherwiſe with us, and that under all our taxes and loſſes, there was a viſible encreaſe of the Wealth of the Nation, could not hear all this without ſome Indignation.

The

1694. The Biſhops had their ſhare of ill humour vented againſt them: It was viſible to the whole Nation, that there was another face of ſtrictneſs, of humility and charity among them, than had been ordinarily obſerved before: They viſited their Dioceſes more: They confirmed and preached oftner, than any who had in our memory gone before them: They took more care in examining thoſe whom they ordained, and in looking into the behaviour of their Clergy, than had been formerly practiſed: But they were faithful to the Government, and zealous for it: They were gentle to the Diſſenters, and did not rail at them, nor ſeem uneaſy at the Toleration. This was thought ſuch a heinous matter, that all their other diligence was deſpiſed; and they were repreſented as men, who deſigned to undermine the Church, and to betray it.

The Biſhops are heavily charged.

Debates concerning Divorce.

Of this, I will give one Inſtance; the matter was of great importance; and it occaſioned great and long Debates in this, and in the former Seſſion of Parliament: It related to the Duke of Norfolk, who had proved his Wife guilty of Adultery, and did move for an Act of Parliament, diſſolving his Marriage, and allowing him to marry again. In the later Ages of Popery, when Marriage was reckoned among the Sacraments, an opinion grew to be received, that Adultery did not break the Bond, and that it could only entitle to a ſeparation, but not ſuch a diſſolution of the Marriage, as gave the party that was injured a right to marry again: This became the Rule of the Spiritual Courts; tho' there was no Definition made about it, before the Council of Trent. At the time of the Reformation, a ſuit of this nature was proſecuted by the Marquis of Northampton: The Marriage was diſſolved, and he married a ſecond time: But he found it neceſſary to move for an Act of Parliament, to confirm this ſubſequent Marriage. In the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſti-

cal Laws, that was prepared by Cranmer and others, in King Edward's time, a Rule was laid down, allowing of a ſecond Marriage, upon a Divorce for Adultery. This matter had lain aſleep above an hundred years, till the preſent Duke of Rutland, then Lord Roos, moved for the like liberty. At that time a ſceptical and libertine ſpirit prevailed, ſo that ſome began to treat Marriage only as a Civil Contract, in which the Parliament was at full liberty to make what Laws they pleaſed: And moſt of King Charles's Courtiers applauded this, hoping by this doctrine, that the King might be divorced from the Queen. The greater part of the Biſhops, apprehending the conſequence that Lord Roos's Act might have, oppoſed every ſtep that was made in it; tho' many of them were perſuaded, that in the caſe of Adultery, when it was fully proved, a ſecond Marriage might be allowed. In the Duke of Norfolk's caſe, as the Lady was a Papiſt, and a buſy Jacobite, ſo a great Party appeared for her. All that favoured the Jacobites, and thoſe who were thought engaged in lewd practices, eſpouſed her concern with a zeal that did themſelves little honour. Their number was ſuch, that no progreſs could be made in the Bill, though the proofs were but too full, and too plain. But the main queſtion was, whether, ſuppoſing the matter fully proved, the Duke of Norfolk ſhould be allowed a ſecond Marriage? The Biſhops were deſired to deliver their opinions, with their reaſons. All thoſe, who had been made during the preſent Reign, were of opinion, that a ſecond Marriage in that caſe was lawful, and conformable, both to the Words of the Goſpel, and to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church; and that the contrary opinion was ſtarted in the late and dark Ages. But all the Biſhops, that had been made by the two former Kings, were of another opinion; tho' ſome of them could not well tell why they were ſo. Here was a colour for men, who looked at things ſuperficially, 1694.

1694. ficially, to obſerve that there was a difference of opinion, between the laſt made Biſhops, and thoſe of an elder ſtanding: From which they inferred, that we were departing from the received Doctrine of our Church; and upon that topick, the Earl of Rocheſter charged us very vehemently. The Bill was let fall at this time: Nor was the Diſpute kept up, for no Books were writ on the ſubject of either ſide.

The Campaign in Flanders.

The King went beyond Sea in May; and the Campaign was opened ſoon after. The Armies of both ſides came very near one another: The King commanded that of the Confederates, as the Dauphin did the French. They lay between Bruſſels and Liege; and it was given out, that they intended to beſiege Maſtricht: The King moved towards Namur, that he might either cut off their proviſions, or force them to fight; but they were reſolved to avoid a Battle: So they retired likewiſe, and the Campaign paſt over in the ordinary manner; both of them moving, and watching one another. The King ſent a great Detachment to break into the French Country at Pont Eſperies: But tho' the Body he ſent had made a great advance, before the French knew any thing of their march, yet they ſent away their Cavalry with ſo much haſte, and in ſo continued a march, that they were poſſeſſed of the Paſs before the Body the King had ſent could reach it; whereby they gained their point, tho' their Cavalry ſuffered much. This deſign failing, the King ſent another Body towards Huy, who took it in a few days. It was become more neceſſary to do this, for the covering of Liege, which was now much broken into faction; their Biſhop was dead, and there was a great diviſion in the Chapter: Some were for the Elector of Cologne, and others were for the Elector Palatine's Brother: But that for the Elector of Cologne was the ſtronger party, and the Court of Rome judged in their favour. The differences be-

tween that Court, and that of Verſailles, were now ſo far made up, that the Bulls for the Biſhops, whom the King had named to the vacant Sees, were granted, upon the ſubmiſſion of all thoſe, who had been concerned in the Articles of 1682. Yet after all that Reconciliation, the real Inclinations of the Court of Rome lay ſtill towards the Confederates: The Alliance that France was in with the Turk, was a thing of an odious ſound at Rome. The taking of Huy covered Liege; ſo that they were both ſafer and quieter. The Confederates, eſpecially the Engliſh and the Dutch, grew weary of keeping up vaſt Armies, that did nothing elſe, but lay for ſome Months advantageouſly poſted, in view of the Enemy, without any Action. 1694.

On the Rhine. On the Rhine, things went much in the uſual manner; only at the end of the Campaign, the Prince of Baden paſſed the Rhine, and raiſed great Contributions in Alſace, which the French ſuffered him to do, rather than hazard a Battle. There was nothing of any importance done on either ſide in Piedmont; only there appeared to be ſome ſecret management between the Court of France, and that of Turin, in order to a Peace: It was chiefly negotiated at Rome, but was all the while denied by the Duke of Savoy.

And in Catalonia. In Catalonia, the Spaniards were beat off from ſome Poſts, and Gironne was taken; nor was Barcelona in any condition to have reſiſted, if the French had ſet down before it. The Court of Madrid felt their weakneſs, and ſaw their danger ſo viſibly, that they were forced to implore the Protection of the Engliſh Fleet. The French had carried the beſt part of their Naval Force into the Mediterranean, and had reſolved to attack Barcelona, both by Sea and Land, at the ſame time: And, upon their ſucceſs there, to have gone round Spain, deſtroying their Coaſts every where. All this was intended to force them to accept the offers the French were willing to make them: But

1694. to prevent this, Ruſſel was ordered to ſail into the Mediterranean, with a Fleet of threeſcore great Ships. He was ſo long ſtopt in his Voyage by contrary Winds, that the French, if they had purſued their advantages, might have finiſhed the Conqueſt of Catalonia: But they reſolved not to hazard their Fleet; ſo it was brought back to Toulon, long before Ruſſel could get into the Mediterranean, which was now left entirely free to him. But it was thought, that the French intended to make a ſecond Attempt, in the end of the year, as ſoon as he ſhould ſail back to England: So it was propoſed, that he might lie at Cadiz all the winter. This was an affair of that importance, that it was long and much debated, before it was reſolved on. It was thought a dangerous thing, to expoſe the beſt part of our Fleet, ſo much as it muſt be, while it lay at ſo great a diſtance from us, that Convoys of Stores and Proviſions might eaſily be intercepted: And indeed, the Ships were ſo low in their Proviſions, when they came back to Cadiz (the Veſſels that were ordered to carry them, having been ſtopt four months in the Channel by contrary winds) that our Fleet had not then above a fortnight's Victuals on board: Yet when the whole matter was thoroughly canvaſt, it was agreed, that our Ships might both lie ſafe, and be well careened at Cadiz: Nor was the difference in the expence, between their lying there, and in our own Ports, conſiderable. By our lying there, the French were ſhut within the Mediterranean: ſo that the Ocean and their Coaſts were left open to us. They were in effect ſhut up within Toulon; for they, having no other Port in thoſe Seas but that, reſolved not to venture abroad; ſo that now we were Maſters of the Seas every where. Theſe conſiderations determined the King to ſend Orders to Ruſſel, to lie all the winter at Cadiz; which produced very good effects. The Venetians and the Great Duke had not thought fit to own the King till

Our Fleet lay at Cadiz.

till then. A great Fleet of Stores and Ammunition, with all other proviſions for the next Campaign, came ſafe to Cadiz; and ſome clean men of war were ſent out, in exchange for others, which were ordered home. 1694.

A deſign on Camaret.

But while we were very fortunate in our main Fleet, we had not the like good ſucceſs in an attempt that was made on Camaret, a ſmall neck of Land that lies in the mouth of the River of Breſt, and would have commanded that River, if we could have made ourſelves Maſters of it. Talmaſh had formed the deſign of ſeizing on it: He had taken care to be well informed of every thing relating to it; 6000 men ſeemed to be more than were neceſſary for taking and keeping it. The deſign, and the preparations for it, were kept ſo ſecret, that there was not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the Project, till the hiring tranſport Ships diſcovered it. A propoſition had been made of this two years before to the Earl of Nottingham; who, among other things, charged Ruſſel with it, that this had been laid before him by men that came from thence, but that he had neglected it. Whether the French apprehended the deſign from that motion, or whether it was now betrayed to them, by ſome of thoſe who were in the ſecret, I know not: It is certain, that they had ſuch timely knowledge of it, as put them on their guard. The Preparations were not quite ready, by the day that was ſettled; and, when all was ready, they were ſtopt by a weſterly wind for ſome time: So that they came thither a month later than was intended. They found the place was well fortified by many Batteries, that were raiſed in different Lines upon the Rocks, that lay over the place of Deſcent: And great numbers were there ready to diſpute their landing. When our Fleet came ſo near as to ſee all this, the Council of Officers were all againſt making the attempt: But Talmaſh had ſet his heart ſo much upon it, that he could not be diverted from it.

1694. He fancied, the men they ſaw were only a Rabble brought together to make a ſhow, tho' it appeared very evidently, that there were regular bodies among them, and that their numbers were double to his. He began with a landing of ſix hundred men, and put himſelf at the head of them. The men followed him with great courage: But they were ſo expoſed to the Enemies Fire, and could do them ſo little harm, that it quickly appeared, it was needleſly throwing away the lives of brave men, to perſiſt longer in ſo deſperate an undertaking. The greateſt part of thoſe who landed, were killed, or taken priſoners; and not above an hundred of them came back. Talmaſh himſelf was ſhot in the thigh, of which he died in a few days, and was much lamented; for he was a brave and generous man, and a good Officer, very fit to animate and encourage inferior Officers and Soldiers: But he was much too apt to be diſcontented, and to turn mutinous; ſo that upon the whole, he was one of thoſe dangerous men, that are capable of doing as much miſchief, as good ſervice. Thus that Deſign miſcarried, which, if it had been undertaken at any time, before the French were ſo well prepared to receive us, might have ſucceeded; and muſt have had great effects.

It miſcarried.

The French Coaſt bombarded.

Our Fleet came back to Plymouth; and after they had ſet the Land Forces aſhore, being well furniſhed with Bomb-veſſels and Ammunition, they were ordered to try what could be done on the French Coaſt: They lay firſt before Dieppe, and burnt it almoſt entirely to the ground: They went next to Havre de Grace, and deſtroyed a great part of that Town. Dunkirk was the place of the greateſt Importance: So that attempt was long purſued in ſeveral ways; but none of them ſucceeded. Theſe Bombardings of the French Towns ſoon ſpread a terror among all that lived near the Coaſt: Batteries were every where raiſed, and the people were brought out to defend their Country:

But

But they could do us no hurt, while our Bombs at a mile's distance did great execution. The action seemed inhuman; but the French, who had bombarded Genoa, without a previous Declaration of War, and who had so often put whole Countries under military Execution, even after they had paid the Contributions that had been laid on them (for which they had protection given them) had no reason to complain of this way of carrying on the War, which they themselves had first begun. 1694.

Affairs in Turky.

The Campaign ended every where, to the advantage of the Confederates, tho' no signal success had happened to their Arms: And this new scene of action at Sea raised the hearts of our people, as much as it sunk our Enemies. The War in Turky went on this year with various success: The Venetians made themselves Masters of the Isle of Scio, the richest and the best peopled of all the Islands in the Archipelago: Those of that Island had a greater share of liberty left them, than any Subjects of the Ottoman Empire; and they flourished accordingly. The great trade of Smirna, that lay so near them, made them the more considerable. The Venetians fortified the Port, but used the Natives worse than the Turks had done: And as the Island had a greater number of People upon it, than could subsist by the productions within themselves, and the Turks prohibited all Commerce with them from Asia, from whence they had their Bread; the Venetians could not keep this Possession, unless they had carried off the greatest part of the Inhabitants to the Morea, or their other Dominions, that wanted People. The Turks brought their whole power at Sea together, to make an attempt for recovering this Island: Two Actions happened at Sea, within ten days one of another; in the last of which the Venetians pretended they had got a great Victory: But their abandoning Scio, in a few days after, shewed that they did not

1694. find it convenient to hold that Iſland, which obliged them to keep a Fleet at ſuch a diſtance from their other Dominions, and at a charge, which the keeping the Iſland could not ballance. The Turks ſent, as they did every year, a great Convoy to Caminieck, guarded by the Crim-Tartars: The Poliſh Army routed the Convoy, and became Maſters of all the Proviſions: But a ſecond Convoy was more happy, and got into the place; otherwiſe it muſt have been abandoned. There was great diſtraction in the Affairs of Poland: Their Queen's intrigues with the Court of France, gave much jealouſy: Their Diets were broke up in confuſion; and they could never agree ſo far in the Preliminaries, as to be able by their forms to do any buſineſs. In Tranſilvania, the Emperor had, after a long Blockade, forced Giula to ſurrender; ſo that the Turks had now nothing in thoſe parts, on the North of the Danube, but Temeſwaer. The Grand Vizier came into Hungary with a great Army, while the Emperor had a very ſmall one to oppoſe him. If the Turks had come on reſolutely, and if the weather had continued good, it might have brought a fatal reverſe on all the Imperial affairs, and retrieved all that the Turks had loſt. But the Grand Vizier lay ſtill, while the Emperor's Army encreaſed, and ſuch rains fell, that nothing could be done. The affairs of Turky were thus in great diſorder: The Grand Seignior died ſoon after; and his Succeſſor in that Empire gave his Subjects ſuch hopes of Peace, that they were calmed for the preſent.

Attempts for a Peace.

At the end of the Campaign, the Court of France flattered their People with hopes of a ſpeedy end of the War: And ſome men of great conſideration were ſent to try, what terms they could bring the Empire or the States to: But the French were yet far from offering conditions, upon which a juſt or a ſafe Peace could be treated of. The States ſent ſome, as far as to Maſtricht, to ſee what

what Powers, thoſe ſent from France, had brought with them; before they would grant them the Paſſports that they deſired: And when they ſaw how limited theſe were, the Negotiation was ſoon at an end; or rather, it never began. When the French ſaw this, they diſowned their having ſent any on ſuch an errand; and pretended, that this was only an artifice of the Confederates, to keep one another and their people in heart, by making them believe, that they had now only a ſmall remnant of the War before them, ſince the French had Inſtruments, every where at work, to ſolicit a Peace. 1694.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The King came to England in the beginning of November; and the Parliament was opened with a calmer face, than had appeared in any Seſſion during this Reign. The Supplies that were demanded, the total amounting to five Millions, were all granted readily. An ill humour indeed appeared in ſome, who oppoſed the Funds, that would moſt eaſily and moſt certainly raiſe the money that was given, upon this pretence, that ſuch Taxes would grow to be a general Exciſe; and that the more eaſily money was raiſed, it would be the more eaſy to continue ſuch Duties to a longer period, if not for ever: The truth was, the ſecret Enemies of the Government propoſed ſuch Funds, as would be the heavieſt to the people, and would not fully anſwer what they were eſtimated at; that ſo the Nation might be uneaſy under that load, and that a conſtant Deficiency might bring on ſuch a Debt, that the Government could not diſcharge, but muſt ſink under it.

An Act for frequent Parliaments.

With the Supply Bills, as the price or bargain for them, the Bill for frequent Parliaments went on: It enacted, that a new Parliament ſhould be called every third year, and that the preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved before the firſt of January 1695-6; and to this, the Royal Aſſent was given: It was received with great Joy, many fan-

1694. cying that all their other Laws and Liberties were now the more ſecure, ſince this was paſſed into a Law. Time muſt tell what effects it will produce; whether it will put an end to the great Corruption, with which Elections were formerly managed, and to all thoſe other practices that accompany them. Men that intended to ſell their own Votes within doors, ſpared no coſt to buy the Votes of others in Elections: But now it was hoped we ſhould ſee a Golden Age, wherein the character men were in, and the reputation they had, would be the prevailing conſiderations in Elections: And by this means it was hoped, that our Conſtitution, in particular that part of it which related to the Houſe of Commons, would again recover both its ſtrength and reputation; which was now very much ſunk: For Corruption was ſo generally ſpread, that it was believed every thing was carried by that method.

The Queen's Adminiſtration.

But I am now coming towards the fatal period of this Book. The Queen continued ſtill to ſet a great Example to the whole Nation, which ſhined in all the Parts of it. She uſed all poſſible methods for reforming whatever was amiſs. She took Ladies off from that Idleneſs, which not only waſted their time, but expoſed them to many temptations: She engaged many both to read and to work: She wrought many hours a day herſelf, with her Ladies and her Maids of Honour working about her, while one read to them all. The Female part of the Court had been, in the former Reigns, ſubject to much cenſure; and there was great cauſe for it: But ſhe freed her Court ſo entirely from all ſuſpicion, that there was not ſo much as a colour for diſcourſes of that ſort. She did divide her Time ſo regularly, between her cloſet and buſineſs, her work and diverſion, that every minute ſeemed to have its proper employment: She expreſſed ſo deep a ſenſe of Religion, with ſo true a regard to it; She had ſuch right principles and juſt notions; and her deportment was ſo exact in every

part of it, all being natural and unconſtrained, and animated with due life and cheerfulneſs; She conſidered every thing that was laid before her ſo carefully, and gave ſuch due encouragement to a freedom of Speech; She remembred every thing ſo exactly, obſerving at the ſame time the cloſeſt reſervedneſs, yet with an open air and frankneſs: She was ſo candid in all ſhe ſaid, and cautious in every promiſe ſhe made; And notwithſtanding her own great capacity, ſhe expreſſed ſuch a diſtruſt of her own thoughts, and was ſo entirely reſigned to the King's judgment, and ſo conſtantly determined by it, that when I laid all theſe things together, which I had large opportunities to obſerve, it gave a very pleaſant proſpect, to ballance the melancholy view, that aroſe from the ill poſture of our affairs, in all other reſpects. It gave us a very particular joy, when we ſaw, that the perſon, whoſe condition ſeemed to mark her out, as the Defender and Perfecter of our Reformation, was ſuch in all reſpects in her publick Adminiſtration, as well as in her private deportment, that ſhe ſeemed well fitted for accompliſhing that work, for which we thought ſhe was born: But we ſoon ſaw this hopeful view blaſted, and our expectations diſappointed in the loſs of her. 1694.

Archbiſhop Tillotſon's Death.

It was preceded by that of Archbiſhop Tillotſon; who was taken ill of a fit of a dead Palſy in November, while he was in the Chapel at Whitehall, on a Sunday, in the Worſhip of God: He felt it coming on him; but not thinking it decent to interrupt the Divine Service, he neglected it too long; till it fell ſo heavily on him, that all remedies were ineffectual: And he died the fifth day after he was taken ill. His diſtemper did ſo oppreſs him, and ſpeaking was ſo uneaſy to him, that tho' it appeared, by ſigns and other indications, that his Underſtanding remained long clear, yet he was not able to expreſs himſelf, ſo as to edify others. He ſeemed ſtill ſerene and calm; and in broken

1694. broken words he ſaid, He thanked God, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait for the Will of Heaven. I preached his Funeral Sermon, in which I gave a Character of him, which was ſo ſeverely true, that I perhaps kept too much within bounds, and ſaid leſs than he deſerved. But we had lived in ſuch friendſhip together, that I thought it was more decent, as it always is more ſafe, to err on that hand. He was the man of the trueſt judgment, and beſt temper, I had ever known: He had a clear head, with a moſt tender and compaſſionate heart: He was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and ſoon conquered enemy: He was truly and ſeriouſly religious, but without affectation, bigotry, or ſuperſtition: His notions of Morality were fine and ſublime: His thread of Reaſoning was eaſy, clear, and ſolid: He was not only the beſt Preacher of the age, but ſeemed to have brought Preaching to perfection: His Sermons were ſo well heard and liked, and ſo much read, that all the Nation propoſed him as a Pattern, and ſtudied to copy after him: His parts remained with him clear and unclouded; but the perpetual Slanders, and other ill uſage he had been followed with, for many years, moſt particularly ſince his advancement to that great poſt, gave him too much trouble, and too deep a concern: It could neither provoke him, nor fright him from his duty; but it affected his mind ſo much, that this was thought to have ſhortned his days.

Sancroft's Death. Sancroft had died a year before, in the ſame poor and deſpicable manner, in which he had lived for ſome years: He died in a ſtate of Separation from the Church; and yet he had not the courage to own it in any publick declaration: For neither living nor dying, did he publiſh any thing concerning it. His Death ought to have put an end to the Schiſm, that ſome were endeavouring to raiſe; upon this pretence, that a Parliamentary Deprivation was never to be allowed, as contrary to

to the intrinſick Power of the Church; and therefore they looked on Sancroft as the Archbiſhop ſtill, and reckoned Tillotſon an Uſurper; and all that joined with him were counted Schiſmaticks: they were willing to forget, as ſome of them did plainly condemn, the Deprivations made in the progreſs of the Reformation, more particularly, thoſe in the firſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and the Deprivations made by the Act of Uniformity in the year 1662: But from thence, the Controverſy was carried up to the Fourth Century; and a great deal of angry reading was brought out on both ſides, to juſtify, or to condemn thoſe proceedings. But arguments will never have the better of intereſt and humour; yet now, even according to their own pretenſions, the Schiſm ought to have ceaſed; ſince he, on whoſe account it was ſet up, did never aſſert his right; and therefore that might have been more juſtly conſtrued a tacit yielding it: But thoſe who have a mind to embroil Church or State, will never want a pretence, and no Arguments will beat them from it. 1694.

Both King and Queen were much affected with Tillotſon's death: The Queen for many days ſpoke of him in the tendereſt manner, and not without tears. He died ſo poor, that if the King had not forgiven his Firſt Fruits, his debts could not have been all payed: So generous and charitable was he in a Poſt, out of which Sancroft had raiſed a great Eſtate, which he left to his Family: But Tillotſon was rich in good works. His See was filled by Teniſon, Biſhop of Lincoln. Many wiſhed that Stillingfleet might have ſucceeded, he being not only ſo eminently learned, but judged a man in all reſpects fit for the Poſt. The Queen was inclined to him; ſhe ſpoke with ſome earneſtneſs, oftner than once, to the Duke of Shrewſbury on that ſubject: She thought, he would fill that Poſt with great dignity: She alſo preſſed the King earneſtly Teniſon ſucceeded.

1694. earneſtly for him: But as his ill health made him not capable of the fatigue that belonged to this Province; ſo the Whigs did generally apprehend, that both his notions and his temper were too high; and all concurred to deſire Teniſon, who had a firmer health, with a more active temper; and was univerſally well liked, for having ſerved the Cure of St. Martin's, in the worſt time, with ſo much courage and diſcretion; ſo that at this time he had many Friends, and no Enemies.

The Small Pox raged this winter about London, ſome thouſands dying of them; which gave us great apprehenſions, with relation to the Queen; for ſhe had never had them.

The Queen's Sickneſs.

In concluſion, ſhe was taken ill, but the next day that ſeemed to go off: I had the honour to be half an hour with her that day: And ſhe complained then of nothing. The day following, ſhe went abroad; but her illneſs returned ſo heavily on her, that ſhe could diſguiſe it no longer: She ſhut her ſelf up long in her Cloſet that night, and burnt many Papers, and put the reſt in order: After that, ſhe uſed ſome ſlight remedies, thinking it was only a tranſient indiſpoſition; but it encreaſed upon her; and within two days after, the Small Pox appeared, and with very bad Symptoms. I will not enter into another's Province, nor ſpeak of matters ſo much out of the way of my own Profeſſion: But the Phyſicians part was univerſally condemned, and her death was imputed to the negligence or unſkilfulneſs of Dr. Ratcliffe. He was called for; and it appeared, but too evidently, that his Opinion was chiefly conſidered; and was moſt depended on. Other Phyſicians were afterwards called; but not till it was too late. The King was ſtruck with this beyond expreſſion. He came, on the ſecond day of her illneſs, and paſſed the Bill for frequent Parliaments; which if he had not done that day, it is very probable he would never have paſſed it. The day after, he called me into

into his Closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion; he burst out into tears; and cried out, 1694. that there was no hope of the Queen; and that, from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature upon Earth. He said, during the whole course of their Marriage, he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her, that no body knew besides himself; tho' he added, that I might know as much of her as any other person did. Never was such a face of universal Sorrow seen in a Court, or in a Town, as at this time: All people, men and women, young and old, could scarce refrain from Tears: On Christmas Day, the Small Pox sunk so entirely, and the Queen felt her self so well upon it, that it was for a while concluded she had the Measles, and that the danger was over. This hope was ill grounded, and of a short continuance: For before night, all was sadly changed. It appeared, that the Small Pox were now so sunk, that there was no hope of raising them. The new Archbishop attended on her; he performed all devotions, and had much private discourse with her: When the desperate condition she was in, was evident beyond doubt, he told the King, He could not do his duty faithfully, unless he acquainted her with the danger she was in: The King approved of it, and said, whatever effect it might have, he would not have her deceived in so important a matter. And, as the Archbishop was preparing the Queen, with some address, not to surprise her too much with such tidings, she presently apprehended his drift, but shewed no fear nor disorder upon it. She said, she thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour; she had nothing then to do, but to look up to God, and submit to his Will; it went further indeed than submission; for she seemed to desire Death, rather than Life; and she continued to the last minute of her life in that calm and resigned

state.

1694. ſtate. She had formerly wrote her mind, in many particulars, to the King: And ſhe gave order, to look carefully for a ſmall Scrutoir that ſhe made uſe of, and to deliver it to the King: And, having diſpatched that, ſhe avoided the giving her ſelf or him the tenderneſs, which a final parting might have raiſed in them both. She was almoſt perpetually in Prayer. The day before ſhe died, ſhe received the Sacrament, all the Biſhops who were attending, being admitted to receive it with her: We were, God knows, a ſorrowful Company; for we were loſing her, who was our chief hope and glory on Earth; She followed the whole Office, repeating it after the Archbiſhop; ſhe apprehended, not without ſome concern, that ſhe ſhould not be able to ſwallow the Bread, yet it went down eaſily. When this was over, ſhe compoſed her ſelf ſolemnly to die; ſhe ſlumbered ſometimes, but ſaid, ſhe was not refreſhed by it; and ſaid often, that nothing did her good but Prayer; ſhe tried once or twice to have ſaid ſomewhat to the King, but was not able to go through with it. She ordered the Archbiſhop to be reading to her ſuch paſſages of Scripture, as might fix her Attention, and raiſe her Devotion: Several Cordials were given, but all was ineffectual; ſhe lay ſilent for ſome hours: And ſome words that came from her, ſhewed her thoughts began to break: In concluſion, ſhe died on the 28th of December, about One in the Morning, in the Thirty third year of her Age, and in the Sixth of her Reign.

And Death.

She was the moſt univerſally lamented Princeſs, and deſerved the beſt to be ſo, of any in our Age, or in our Hiſtory. I will add no more concerning her, in the way of a Character: I have ſaid a great deal already in this work; and I wrote a Book, as an Eſſay on her Character, in which I have ſaid nothing, but that which I knew to be ſtrictly true, without the enlargement of Figure or Rhetorick. The King's affliction for her Death

was as great as it was juſt; it was greater than thoſe who knew him beſt, thought his temper capable of: He went beyond all bounds in it; during her Sickneſs, he was in an Agony, that amazed us all, fainting often, and breaking out into moſt violent Lamentations; when ſhe died, his Spirits ſunk ſo low, that there was great reaſon to apprehend, that he was following her; for ſome Weeks after, he was ſo little Maſter of himſelf, that he was not capable of minding buſineſs, or of ſeeing Company. He turned himſelf much to the Meditations of Religion, and to ſecret Prayer; the Archbiſhop was often and long with him; he entred upon ſolemn and ſerious reſolutions of becoming, in all things, an exact and an exemplary Chriſtian. And now I am come to the Period of this Book, with a very melancholy Proſpect: But God has ordered matters ſince, beyond all our expectations. 1694.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

My Own Times.

BOOK VI.

Of the Life and Reign of King WILLIAM III.

1695. The Proceeding in Parliament.

THE Two Houſes of Parliament ſet an Example, that was followed by the whole Nation, of making conſolatory and dutiful Addreſſes to the King. The Queen was buried with the ordinary Ceremony, and with one piece of Magnificence that could never happen before; for both Houſes of Parliament went in Proceſſion before the Chariot that carried her Body to Weſtminſter Abbey; where places were prepared for both Houſes, to ſit in form, while the Archbiſhop preached the Funeral Sermon. This could never happen before, ſince the Sovereign's Death had always diſſolved our Parliaments. It is true, the Earl of Rocheſter tried, if he could have raiſed a doubt of the Legality of this Parliament's continuance, ſince it was ſummoned by King William and Queen Mary; ſo upon her death, the writ, that ran in her name, ſeemed

ſeemed to die with her: This would have had fatal Conſequences, if in that ſeaſon of the year, all things muſt have ſtood ſtill, till a new Parliament could have been brought together: But the Act, that put the Adminiſtration entirely in the King, tho' the Queen had a ſhare in the dignity of Sovereign, made this cavil appear to be ſo ill-grounded, that no body ſeconded ſo dangerous a ſuggeſtion. 1694.

The ill ſtate of the Coin.

The Parliament went on with the buſineſs of the Nation; in which the Earl of Rocheſter, and that Party, artfully ſtudied, all that was poſſible, to embroil our affairs: The ſtate of our Coin gave them too great a handle for it. We had two ſorts of Coin; The one was milled, and could not be practiſed on: But the other was not ſo, and was ſubject to clipping; and in a courſe of ſome years, the old money was every year ſo much diminiſhed, that it at laſt grew to be leſs than the half of the intrinſick value. Thoſe who drove this Trade, were as much enriched, as the Nation ſuffered by it: When it came to be generally obſerved, the King was adviſed to iſſue out a Proclamation, that no money ſhould paſs for the future, by the tale, but by the weight, which would put a preſent end to clipping. But Seimour, being then in the Treaſury, oppoſed this; he adviſed the King to look on, and let that matter have its courſe: The Parliament would in due time take care of it; but in the mean while, the badneſs of money quickned the Circulation, while every one ſtudied to put out of his hands all the bad money; and this would make all people the readier to bring their caſh into the Exchequer; and ſo a Loan was more eaſily made. The badneſs of the money began now to grow very viſible; it was plain, that no remedy could be provided for it, but by recoining all the Specie of England; and that could not be ſet about, in the end of a Seſſion. The Earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham repreſented this very tra-

1695. gically in the Houſe of Lords, where it was not poſſible to give the proper remedy; it produced only an Act, with ſtricter clauſes and ſeverer penalties againſt Clippers; this had no other effect, but that it alarmed the Nation, and ſunk the value of our money in the Exchange; Guineas, which were equal in value to twenty one Shillings and Six pence in Silver, roſe to thirty Shillings, that is to ſay, thirty Shillings ſunk to twenty one Shillings and Sixpence. This publick diſgrace, put on our Coin, when the evil was not cured, was in effect a great point carried, by which there was an opportunity given to ſink the credit of the Government, and of the publick Funds; and it brought a diſcount of above 40 l. per Cent. upon Tallies.

A Bill concerning Trials for Treaſon.

Another Bill was ſet on foot, which was long purſued, and, in concluſion, carried by the Tories: It was concerning Trials for Treaſon; and the deſign of it ſeemed to be, to make men as ſafe in all treaſonable Conſpiracies and Practices, as was poſſible: Two Witneſſes were to concur to prove the ſame Fact, at the ſame time: Council in matters of Fact, and Witneſſes upon Oath, were by it allowed to the Priſoners; they were to have a Copy of the Indictment, and the Pannel in due time: All theſe things were in themſelves juſt and reaſonable: And if they had been moved by other men, and at another time, they would have met with little oppoſition: They were chiefly ſet on by Finch, the Earl of Nottingham's Brother, who had been concerned in the hard proſecutions for Treaſons in the end of King Charles's Reign, and had then carried all Prerogative points very far; but was, during this Reign, in a conſtant oppoſition to every thing, that was propoſed for the King's Service: He had a copious way of ſpeaking, with an appearance of Beauty and Eloquence to vulgar Hearers: But there was a ſuperficialneſs in moſt of his harangues, that made them ſeem tedious to better Judges; his Rhetorick was all vicious,

and his Reaſoning was too ſubtle. The occaſion given for this Bill, leads me to give an account of ſome Trials for Treaſon, during the laſt ſummer, which, for the relation they have to this matter, I have reſerved for this place. 1695.

Lunt an Iriſhman, who was bold and poor, and of a mean underſtanding, had been often employed to carry Letters and Meſſages between Ireland and England, when King James was there. He was once taken up on ſuſpicion, but he was faithful to his Party, and would diſcover nothing; ſo he continued after that to be truſted by them. But, being kept very poor, he grew weary of his low eſtate, and thought of gaining the rewards of a diſcovery. He fell into the hands of one Taaff, an Iriſh Prieſt, who had not only changed his Religion, but had married in King James's time. Taaff came into the ſervice of the preſent Government, and had a ſmall penſion. He was long in purſuit of a diſcovery of the Impoſture in the Birth of the Prince of Wales, and was engaged with more ſucceſs in diſcovering the concealed Eſtates of the Prieſts, and the Religious Orders, in which ſome progreſs was made. Theſe ſeemed to be ſure evidences of the ſincerity of the man, at leaſt in his oppoſition to thoſe, whom he had forſaken, and whom he was provoking in ſo ſenſible a manner. All this I mention, the more particularly, to ſhew how little that ſort of men is to be depended on; he poſſeſſed thoſe, to whom his other diſcoveries gave him acceſs, of the importance of this Lunt, who was then come from St. Germains, and who could make great diſcoveries: So Lunt was examined by the Miniſters of State; and he gave them an account of ſome diſcourſes and deſigns againſt the King, and of an Inſurrection, that was to have broke out in the year 1692, when King James was deſigning to come over from Normandy; for, he ſaid, he had carried at that time Commiſſions to the chief men of the party, both Trials in Lancaſhire.

1695. in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. A Carrier had been employed to carry down great quantities of Arms to them: One of the Cheſts, in which they were put up, had broke in the carriage, ſo the Carrier ſaw what was in them; and he depoſed, he had carried many of the ſame weight and ſize; the perſons concerned, finding the Carrier was true and ſecret, continued to employ him in that ſort of carriage for a great while. Lunt's ſtory ſeemed probable and coherent in all its circumſtances: So orders were ſent to ſeize on ſome perſons, and to ſearch houſes for Arms. In one houſe they found Arms for a Troop of Horſe, built up within walls, very dexterouſly. Taaff was all this while very zealous in ſupporting Lunt's credit, and in aſſiſting him in his diſcoveries; a ſolemn Trial of the Priſoners was ordered in Lancaſhire. When the ſet time drew near, Taaff ſent them word, that, if he ſhould be well paid for it, he would bring them all off; it may be eaſily imagined that they ſtuck at nothing for ſuch a ſervice; he had got out of Lunt all his depoſitions, which he diſcloſed to them; ſo they had the advantage of being well prepared to meet, and overthrow his evidence in many circumſtances: And at the Trial, Taaff turned againſt him, and witneſſed many things againſt Lunt, that ſhook his credit. There was another Witneſs that ſupported Lunt's evidence; but he was ſo profligate a man, that great and juſt objections lay againſt giving him any credit; but the Carrier's evidence was not ſhaken. Lunt, in the Trial, had named two Gentlemen wrong, miſtaking the one for the other: But he quickly corrected his miſtake; he had ſeen them but once, and they were both together; ſo he might miſtake their names: But he was ſure theſe were the two perſons, with whom he had thoſe treaſonable Negotiations. Taaff had engaged him in company in London, to whom he had talked very idly, like a man who reſolved to make a fortune by ſwearing: And it ſeemed, by what he ſaid, that he had many diſcoveries

veries yet in reſerve, which he intended to ſpread among many, till he ſhould grow rich and conſiderable by it: This was ſworn againſt him. By all theſe things, his Evidence was ſo blaſted, that no credit was given to him. Four of the Judges were ſent down to try the Priſoners at Mancheſter, and at Cheſter; where they managed matters with an impartial exactneſs. Any leaning that appeared, was in favour of the Priſoners, according to a Characteriſtick, that Judges had always pretended to, but had not of late deſerved ſo well, as upon this occaſion, of being Council for the Priſoner. The evidence that was brought againſt Lunt, was afterwards found to be falſe: But it looked then with ſo good an appearance, that both the King's Council and the Judges were ſatisfied with it; and ſo, without calling for the reſt of the Evidence, the matter was let fall: And when the Judges gave the Charge to the Jury, it was in favour of the Priſoners, ſo that they were acquitted. And the reſt of thoſe, who were ordered to be tried after them, were all diſcharged without trial. 1695.

The whole Party triumphed upon this, as a Victory; and complained both of the Miniſters of State and of the Judges: The matter was examined into, by both Houſes of Parliament; and it evidently appeared, that the proceeding had been, not only exactly according to Law, but that all reaſonable favour had been ſhewed the Priſoners: So that both Houſes were fully ſatisfied; only the Earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham hung on the matter long, and with great eagerneſs; and in concluſion, proteſted againſt the Vote, by which the Lords juſtified theſe proceedings. This Examination was brought on with much noiſe, to give the more ſtrength to the Bill of Treaſons: But the progreſs of the examination turned ſo much againſt them, who had made this uſe of it, that it appeared there was no juſt occaſion given by that trial, to alter the Law. Yet the Commons paſſed

1695. the Bill: But the Lords insisted on a clause, that all the Peers should be summoned to the trial of a Peer, that was charged with High Treason: The Commons would not agree to that; and so the Bill was dropt for this time. By the late trial, it had manifestly appeared, how little the Crown gained by one thing, which yet was thought an advantage; that the Witnesses for the Prisoner were not upon Oath: Many things were upon this occasion witnessed in favour of the Prisoners, which were afterwards found to be notoriously false: And it is certain, that the terror of an Oath is a great restraint, and many, whom an Oath might overawe, would more freely allow themselves the liberty of Lying, in behalf of a Prisoner, to save his life.

Complaints of the Bank.

When this design failed, another was set up against the Bank, which began to have a flourishing credit, and had supplied the King so regularly with money, and that upon such reasonable terms, that those who intended to make matters go heavily, tried what could be done to shake the credit of the Bank. But this attempt was rejected in both Houses with indignation: It was very evident, that publick Credit would signify little, if what was established in one Session of Parliament, might be fallen upon, and shaken in another.

Enquiries into corrupt practices.

Towards the end of the Session, complaints were made of some Military men, who did not pay their Quarters, pretending their own pay was in arrear: But it appearing, that they had been payed; and the matter being further examined into, it was found, that the superior Officers had cheated the Subalterans, which excused their not paying their Quarters. Upon this, the enquiry was carried further; and such discoveries were made, that some Officers were broke upon it, while others prevented complaints, by satisfying those whom they had oppressed. It was found out, that the Secretary of the Treasury had taken two hundred Guineas,

neas, for procuring the Arrears due to a Regiment, to be payed; whereupon he was ſent to the Tower, and turned out of his place. Many were the more ſharpned againſt him, becauſe it was believed that he, as well as Trevor the Speaker, were deeply concerned in corrupting the Members of the Houſe of Commons: He had held his place both in King Charles and King James's time: And the ſhare he had in the ſecret diſtribution of money, had made him a neceſſary man for thoſe methods. 1695.

But the Houſe, being on this ſcent, carried the matter ſtill further. In the former Seſſion of Parliament, an Act had paſſed, creating a Fund for the repayment of the Debt owing to the Orphans, by the Chamber of London; and the Chamber had made Trevor a Preſent of a thouſand Guineas, for the Service he did them in that matter: This was entred in their Books; ſo that full proof was made of it. It was indeed believed, that a much greater Preſent had been made him in behalf of the Orphans; but no proof of that appeared: Whereas, what had been taken in ſo publick a manner could not be hid. This was objected to Trevor as Corruption, and a Breach of Truſt; and upon it, he was expelled the Houſe: And Mr. Paul Foley was choſen Speaker in his room; who had got great credit by his Integrity, and his conſtant complaining of the Adminiſtration.

And into the Preſents made by the Eaſt-India Company.

One diſcovery made way for another: It was found, that in the Books of the Eaſt-India Company, there were Entries made of great Sums given, for ſecret Services done the Company, that amounted to 170,000 Pounds: And it was generally believed, that the greateſt part of it had gone among the Members of the Houſe of Commons. For the two preceding Winters, there had been attempts, eagerly purſued by ſome, for breaking the Company, and either opening a free Trade to the Indies, or at leaſt, erecting a new Company: But it was obſerved, that ſome of the hotteſt ſtick-

1695. lers againſt the Company, did inſenſibly, not only fall off from that heat, but turned to ſerve the Company, as much as they had at firſt endeavoured to deſtroy it. Seimour was among the chief of theſe: And it was ſaid, that he had 12000 Pounds of their money, under the colour of a Bargain for their Salt-petre. Great pains and art was uſed to ſtifle this Enquiry: But curioſity, envy, and ill-nature, as well as virtue, will on ſuch occaſions always prevail, to ſet on enquiries. Thoſe, who have had nothing, deſire to know who have had ſomething, while the guilty perſons dare not ſhew too great a concern in oppoſing diſcoveries. Sir Thomas Cook, a rich Merchant, who was governor of the Company, was examined concerning that great Sum given for Secret Service: But he refuſed to anſwer. So a ſevere Bill was brought in againſt him, in caſe he ſhould not, by a prefixed day, confeſs how all that money had been diſpoſed of. When the Bill was ſent up to the Lords, and was like to paſs, he came in, and offered to make a full diſcovery, if he might be indemnified for all that he had done, or that he might ſay in that matter. The Enemies of the Court hoped for great diſcoveries, that ſhould diſgrace both the Miniſters and the Favourites: But it appeared, that, whereas both King Charles and King James had obliged the Company, to make them a yearly preſent of 10000 Pounds, that the King had received this but once; and that, tho' the Company offered a Preſent of 50000 Pounds, if the King would grant them a new Charter, and conſent to an Act of Parliament confirming it, the King had refuſed to hearken to it. There were indeed preſumptions, that the Marquis of Caermarthen had taken a Preſent of 5000 Guineas, which were ſent back to Sir Thomas Cook, the morning before he was to make his diſcovery. The Lords appointed twelve of their Body to meet with twenty four of the Houſe of Commons, to examine into this matter; But they

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were ſo ill ſatisfied with the account that was given them, by the four perſons who had been entruſted with this ſecret, that by a particular Act, that paſſed both Houſes, they were committed to the Tower of London, till the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament, and reſtrained from diſpoſing of their Eſtates, real or perſonal. Theſe were proceedings of an extraordinary nature, which could not be juſtified, but from the extraordinary occaſion that was given for them. Some ſaid, this looked like the ſetting up a Court of Inquiſition, when new Laws were made on purpoſe to diſcover ſecret Tranſactions; and that no bounds could be ſet to ſuch a method of proceeding. Others ſaid, that when Entries were made of ſuch Sums, ſecretly diſpoſed of, it was as juſt for a Parliament to force a confeſſion, as it was common in the courſe of the Law to ſubpœna a man, to declare all his knowledge of any matter, how ſecretly ſoever it might have been managed, and what perſon ſoever might have been concerned in it. The Lord Preſident felt, that he was deeply wounded with this diſcovery: For while the Act, againſt Cook, was paſſing in the Houſe of Lords, he took occaſion to affirm, with ſolemn proteſtations, that he himſelf was not at all concerned in that matter. But now all had broke out: One Firebraſs a Merchant, employed by the Eaſt-India Company, had treated with Bates, a friend of the Marquis of Caermarthen's; and for the favour that Lord was to do them, in procuring them a new Charter, Bates was to have for his uſe five thouſand Guineas. But now a new turn was to be given to all this: Bates ſwore, that he indeed received the money, and that he offered it to that Lord, who poſitively refuſed to take it: But, ſince it was already paid in, he adviſed Bates to keep it to himſelf; tho' by the examination it appeared, that Bates was to have five hundred Pounds for his own negotiating the affair: It did alſo appear, that the money was pay- 1695.

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1695. ed in to one of that Lord's Servants; but he could not be come at. Upon this discovery, the House of Commons voted an Impeachment for a misdemeanour against the Lord President: He, to prevent that, desired to be heard speak to that House in his own Justification. When he was before them, he set out the services that he had done the Nation, in terms that were not thought very decent: He assumed the greatest share of the honour of the Revolution to himself: He expressed a great uneasiness, to be brought under so black an Imputation, from which he cleared himself as much as words could do: In the end, he desired a present Trial. Articles were upon that brought against him: He, in answer to these, denied his having received the money. But his Servant, whose testimony only could have cleared that point, disappearing, the suspicion still stuck on him. It was intended to hang up the matter to another Session; but an Act of Grace came in the end of this, with an exception indeed as to Corruption: Yet this whole discovery was let fall, and it was believed, too many of all sides were concerned in it: For by a common consent, it was never revived; and thus the Session ended.

Consultations about the Coin.

The first consultation, after it was over, was concerning the Coin, what methods should be taken to prevent further clipping, and for remedying so great an abuse. Some proposed the recoining the money, with such a raising of the value of the Species, as should ballance the loss upon the old money, that was to be called in. This took with so many, that it was not easy to correct an error, that must have had very bad effects in the conclusion: For the only fixed standard must be the intrinsick value of an Ounce of Silver: And it was a publick Robbery, that would very much prejudice our Trade, not to keep the value of our Species, near an equality with its weight and fineness in Silver. So that the difference between the old and new money,

money, could only be ſet right by the Houſe of Commons, in a Supply to be given for that end. The Lord Keeper Somers did indeed propoſe that, which would have put an effectual ſtop to clipping for the future: It was, that a Proclamation ſhould be prepared with ſuch ſecrecy, as to be publiſhed over all England on the ſame day, ordering money to paſs only by weight; but that, at the ſame time, during three or four days after the Proclamation, all perſons in every County, that had money, ſhould bring it in to be told and weighed; and the difference was to be regiſtred, and the money to be ſealed up, to the end of the time given, and then to be reſtored to the owners; and an aſſurance was to be given, that this deficiency in weight, ſhould be laid before the Parliament, to be ſupplied another way, and to be allowed them in the following Taxes. But tho' the King liked this propoſition, yet all the reſt of the Council were againſt it. They ſaid, this would ſtop the circulation of money, and might occaſion tumults in the Markets. Thoſe, whoſe money was thus to be weighed, would not believe that the difference, between the tale and the weight, would be allowed them, and ſo might grow mutinous: Therefore, they were for leaving this matter to the Conſideration of the next Parliament. So this propoſition was laid aſide; which would have ſaved the Nation above a million of money. For now, as all people believed, that the Parliament would receive the clipt money in its tale, clipping went on, and became more viſibly ſcandalous than ever it had been. 1695.

Conſultations among the Jacobites.

There was indeed reaſon to apprehend tumults: For, now, after the Queen's death, the Jacobites began to think, that the Government had loſt the half of its ſtrength, and that things could not be kept quiet at home, when the King ſhould be beyond Sea. Some pretended, they were for putting the Princeſs in her Siſter's place; but that was only

1695. only a pretence, to which ſhe gave no ſort of encouragement: King James lay at bottom. They fancied, an Invaſion in the King's abſence would be an eaſy attempt, which would meet with little reſiſtance: So they ſent ſome over to France, in particular one Charnock, a Fellow of Magdalen College, who in King James's time had turned Papiſt, and was a hot and active Agent among them: They undertook to bring a Body of 2000 Horſe, to meet ſuch an Army as ſhould be ſent over: But Charnock came back with a cold account, that nothing could be done at that time: Upon which it was thought neceſſary, to ſend over a man of Quality, who ſhould preſs the matter with ſome more authority: So the Earl of Aileſbury was prevailed on to go. He was admitted to a ſecret converſation with the French King: And this gave riſe to a Deſign, which was very near being executed the following Winter.

A deſign to aſſaſſinate the King.

But if Sir John Fenwick did not ſlander King James, they at this time propoſed a ſhorter and more infallible way, by aſſaſſinating the King: For he ſaid, that ſome came over from France about this time, who aſſured their Party, and himſelf in particular, that a Commiſſion was coming over, ſigned by King James, which they affirmed they had ſeen, warranting them to attack the King's Perſon. This, it is true, was not yet arrived: But ſome affirmed, they had ſeen it, and that it was truſted to one, who was on his way hither: Therefore, ſince the King was ſo near going over to Holland, that he would probably be gone before the Commiſſion could be in England; it was debated among the Jacobites, whether they ought not to take the firſt opportunity to execute this Commiſſion, even tho' they had it not in their hands: It was reſolved to do it; and a day was ſet for it: But, as Fenwick ſaid, he broke the deſign; and ſent them word, that he would diſcover it, if they would not promiſe to give over the thoughts

thoughts of it: And upon this reaſon, he believed, he was not let into the ſecret the following winter. This his Lady told me from him, as an article of merit to obtain his pardon: But he had truſted their word very eaſily, it ſeems, ſince he gave the King no warning to be on his guard: And the two witneſſes, whom he ſaid he could produce to vouch this, were then under proſecution, and out-lawed: So that the proof was not at hand, and the warning had not been given, as it ought to have been. But of all this, the Government knew nothing, and ſuſpected nothing at this time. 1695.

A Government in the King's abſence.

The King ſettled the Government of England in ſeven Lords Juſtices, during his abſence: And in this a great error was committed, which had ſome ill effects, and was like to have had worſe: The Queen, when ſhe was dying, had received a kind Letter, from, and had ſent a reconciling Meſſage to the Princeſs; and ſo, that breach was made up. It is true, the Siſters did not meet: It was thought, that might throw the Queen into too great a commotion; ſo it was put off till it was too late: Yet the Princeſs came ſoon after to ſee the King; and there was after that an appearance of a good correſpondence between them: But it was little more than an appearance. They lived ſtill in terms of civility, and in formal viſits. But the King did not bring her into any ſhare in buſineſs; nor did he order his Miniſters to wait on her, and give her any account of Affairs. And now, that he was to go beyond Sea, ſhe was not ſet at the head of the Councils, nor was there any care taken to oblige thoſe who were about her. This looked either like a jealouſy and diſtruſt, or a coldneſs towards her, which gave all the ſecret Enemies of the Government a colour of complaint. They pretended zeal for the Princeſs, tho' they came little to her; and they made it very viſible, on many occaſions, that this was only a diſguiſe for worſe deſigns.

The death of ſome Lords.

Two great men had died in Scotland the former Winter, the Dukes of Hamilton and Queenſbury: They

1695. They were Brothers in-law, and had been long great friends; but they became irreconcilable Enemies. The firſt had more application, but the other had the greater genius: They were incompatible with each other, and indeed with all other perſons; for both loved to be abſolute, and to direct every thing. The Marquis of Halifax died in April this year: He had gone into all the meaſures of the Tories; only he took care to preſerve himſelf from criminal engagements: He ſtudied to oppoſe every thing, and to embroil matters all he could: His ſpirit was reſtleſs, and he could not bear to be out of buſineſs: His vivacity and judgment ſunk much in his laſt years, as well as his Reputation: He died of a Gangrene, occaſioned by a Rupture that he had long neglected: When he ſaw death ſo near him, and was warned that there was no hope, he ſhewed a great firmneſs of Mind, and a Calm that had much of true Philoſophy at leaſt: He profeſſed himſelf a ſincere Chriſtian, and lamented the former parts of his Life, with ſolemn reſolutions of becoming in all reſpects another man, if God ſhould raiſe him up. And ſo, I hope, he died a better man than he lived.

The Lords Juſtices. The ſeven Lords Juſtices were, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the firſt Secretary of State, and the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. They had no Character nor Rank, except when four of them were together: And they avoided aſſembling to that number, except at the Council Board, where it was neceſſary; and when they were together, they had the Regal Authority veſted in them. They were choſen by the Poſts they were in. So that no other perſon could think he was neglected by the preference: They were not envied for this Titular Greatneſs; ſince it was indeed only Titular; for they had no real Authority truſted with them. They took care to keep within bounds, and to do nothing,

nothing, but in matters of courſe, till they had the King's Orders, to which they adhered exactly: So that no complaints could be made of them, becauſe they took nothing on them, and did only keep the peace of the Kingdom, and tranſmit and execute the King's Orders. The Summer went over quietly at home; for tho' the Jacobites ſhewed their diſpoſition on ſome occaſions, but moſt ſignally on the Prince of Wales's Birth-day, yet they were wiſer than to break out into any diſorder, when they had no hopes of aſſiſtance from France. 1695.

The Campaign in Flanders.

About the end of May, the Armies were brought together in Flanders: The King drew his main Force towards the French Lines; and the Deſign was formed to break thro', and to deſtroy the French Flanders. Luxembourg died this Winter; ſo the Command of the French Armies was divided between Villeroy and Bouflers: But the former commanded the ſtronger Army. An Attempt was made on the Fort of Knock, in order to forcing the Lines; and there was ſome action about it: But all on the ſudden, Namur was inveſted; and the King drew off the main part of his Army to beſiege that place, and left above 30000 Men, under the Command of the Prince of Vaudemont, who was the beſt General he had; for Prince Waldeck died above a year before this. With that Army, he was to cover Flanders and Brabant, while the King carried on the Siege.

The Siege of Namur.

As ſoon as Namur was inveſted, Bouflers threw himſelf into it, with many good Officers, and a great Body of Dragoons: The Garriſon was 12000 ſtrong: A place ſo happily ſituated, ſo well fortified, and ſo well furniſhed and commanded, made the attempt ſeem bold and doubtful: The dry Seaſon put the King under another difficulty: The Maeſe was ſo low, that there was not water enough to bring up the Barks, loaden with Artillery and Ammunition, from Liege and Maſtricht; ſo that many days were loſt in bringing theſe over Land:

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1695. if Villeroy had followed the King close, it is thought he must have quitted the design: But the French presumed upon the strength of the Place and Garrison, and on our being so little practised in Sieges. They thought, that Villeroy might make some considerable Conquest in Flanders, and when that was done, come in good time to raise the Siege. Prince Vaudemont managed his Army with such skill and conduct, that as he covered all the Places on which he thought the French had an eye, so he marched with that caution, that tho' Villeroy had above double his strength, yet he could not force him to an engagement, nor gain any advantage over him. The Military men that served under him, magnified his conduct highly, and compared it to any thing that Turenne, or the greatest Generals of the Age had done. Once it was thought, he could not get off; but he marched under the Cannon of Ghent without any loss. In this Villeroy's conduct was blamed, but without cause; for he had not overseen his advantage, but had ordered the Duke of Mayne, the French King's beloved Son, to make a motion with the Horse, which he commanded; and probably, if that had been speedily executed, it might have had ill effects on the Prince of Vaudemont: But the Duke de Mayne despised Villeroy, and made no haste to obey his Orders; so the advantage was lost, and the King of France put him under a slight disgrace for it. Villeroy attackt Dixmuyde and Deinse: The Garrisons were not indeed able to make a great resistance; but they were ill commanded. If their Officers had been Masters of a true judgment, or presence of mind, they might at least have got a favourable composition, and have saved the Garrisons, tho' the Places were not tenable: Yet they were basely delivered up, and about 7000 men were made prisoners of war. And hereupon, tho' by a Cartel that had been settled between the two Armies, all Prisoners were to be redeemed at a set

price, and within a limited time; yet the French, having now so many men in their hands, did, without either colour or shame, give a new essay of their perfidiousness; for they broke it upon this occasion, as they had often done at Sea; indeed, as often as any advantages on their side tempted them to it. The Governors of those places were at first believed to have betrayed their Trust, and sold the Garrisons, as well as the places to the French: But they were tried afterwards; and it appeared, that it flowed from Cowardice, and want of Sense; for which one of them suffered, and the other was broke with disgrace. 1695.

Villeroy marched toward Brussels, and was followed by Prince Vaudemont, whose chief care was to order his motions so, that the French might not get between him and the King's Camp at Namur. He apprehended, that Villeroy might bombard Brussels, and would have hindred it, if the Town could have been wrought on to give him the assistance that he desired of them. Townsmen, upon all such occasions, are more apt to consider a present, tho' a small expence, than a great, tho' an imminent danger: So Prince Vaudemont could not pretend to cover them. The Electoress of Bavaria was then in the Town: And tho' Villeroy sent a Compliment to her, yet he did not give her time to retire; but bombarded the place for two days, with so much fury, that a great part of the lower Town was burnt down. The damage was valued at some Millions, and the Electoress was so frighted, that she miscarried upon it of a Boy. When this execution was done, Villeroy marched towards Namur: His Army was now so much encreased, by Detachments brought from the Rhine, and Troops drawn out of Garrisons, that it was said to be 100,000 strong. Both Armies on the Rhine were so equal in strength, that they could only lie on a Defensive; neither side being strong enough to undertake any thing. M. Brussels was bombarded.

1695. De L'Orge commanded the French, and the Prince of Baden the Imperialiſts: The former was ſinking as much in his health as in his credit; ſo a great Body was ordered to march from him to Villeroy; and another Body equal to that, commanded by the Landgrave of Heſſe, came and joined the King's Army.

Namur was taken. The Siege was carried on with great vigour: The errors, to which our want of practice expoſed us, were all corrected by the courage of our men: The Fortifications, both in ſtrength, and in the extent of the out works, were double to what they had been when the French took the place: Our men did not only ſucceed in every attack, but went much further. In the firſt great Sally, the French loſt ſo many, both Officers and Soldiers, that after that, they kept within their Works, and gave us no diſturbance. Both the King and the Elector of Bavaria, went frequently into the Trenches; the Town held out one Month, and the Cittadel another. Upon Villeroy's approach, the King drew off all the Troops that could be ſpared from the Siege, and placed himſelf in his way, with an Army of 60,000 men: But he was ſo well poſted, that after Villeroy had looked on him for ſome days, he found it was not adviſable to attack him. Our Men wiſhed for a Battle, as that which would not only decide the fate of Namur, but of the whole War. The French gave it out, that they would put all to hazard, rather than ſuffer ſuch a diminution of their King's Glory, as the retaking that place ſeemed to be. But the Signal of the Cittadel's treating, put an end to Villeroy's deſigns: Upon which, he apprehending that the King might then attack him, drew off with ſo much precipitation, that it looked liker a flight than a retreat.

The Capitulation was ſoon ended and ſigned by Bouflers, who, as was ſaid, was the firſt Mareſchal of France that had ever delivered up a place: He

marched out with 5000 men, ſo it appeared he had loſt 7000 during the Siege: And we loſt in it only about the ſame number. This was reckoned one of the greateſt actions of the King's Life, and indeed, one of the greateſt that is in the whole Hiſtory of War. It raiſed his Character much, both at home and abroad, and gave a great reputation to his Troops: The King had the entire Credit of the matter; his General Officers having a very ſmall ſhare in it, being moſt of them men of low Genius, and little practiſed in things of that nature. Cohorn, the chief Engineer, ſignalized himſelf ſo eminently on this occaſion, that he was looked on as the greateſt Man of the Age; and outdid even Vauban, who had gone far beyond all thoſe, that went before him, in the conduct of Sieges: But it was confeſſed by all, that Cohorn had carried that Art to a much farther perfection during this Siege. The Subaltern Officers and Soldiers gave hopes of a better race, that was growing up, and ſupplied the errors and defects of their ſuperior Officers. As the Garriſon marched out, the King ordered Bouflers to be ſtopt, in repriſal for the Garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deinſe. Bouflers complained of this as a Breach of Articles, and the action ſeemed liable to cenſure. But many authorities and precedents were brought, both from Law and Hiſtory, to juſtify it: All obligations among Princes, both in Peace and War, muſt be judged to be reciprocal: So that he who breaks theſe firſt, ſets the other at liberty. At length, the French conſented to ſend back the Garriſons, purſuant to the Cartel: Bouflers was firſt ſet at liberty, and then theſe Garriſons were releaſed according to promiſe. 1695.

The Officers were tried and proceeded againſt, by Councils of War, according to Martial Law: They were raiſed in the Army by ill methods, and maintained themſelves by worſe: Corruption had broke into the Army, and Oppreſſion and Injuſtice

1695. were much complained of: The King did not approve of thoſe practices; but he did not enquire after them, nor puniſh them with a due ſeverity: Nor did he make difference enough between thoſe who ſerved well, ſold nothing, and uſed their Subalterns kindly, and thoſe who ſet every thing to ſale, and oppreſſed all that were under them; and when things of that kind go unpuniſhed, they will ſoon make a great progreſs. There was little more done, during the Campaign in Flanders; nor was there any Action upon the Rhine.

In Italy, there was nothing done in the Field by force of Arms; but an affair of great conſequence was tranſacted, in a very myſterious manner: The Duke of Savoy, after a very long Blockade, undertook the Siege of Caſal; but he was ſo ill provided for it, that no good account of it could be expected: The King had ſo little hopes of ſucceſs, that he was not eaſily prevailed on to conſent to the beſieging it: But either the French intended to gain the Pope and the Venetians, and in concluſion, that Duke himſelf, with this extraordinary conceſſion; or, ſince our Fleet was then before Toulon, they judged it more neceſſary to keep their Troops for the defence of their Coaſt and Fleet, than to ſend them to relieve Caſal; ſo Orders were ſent to the Governor to capitulate, in ſuch a number of days, after the Trenches were opened: So that the Place was ſurrendred, tho' it was not at all ſtraitned. It was agreed, that it ſhould be reſtored to the Duke of Mantua, but ſo diſmantled, that it might give jealouſy to no ſide: And the ſlighting the Fortifications went on ſo ſlowly, that the whole Seaſon was ſpent in it, a Truce being granted all that while. Thus did the French give up Caſal, after they had been at a vaſt expence in fortifying it, and had made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe.

Caſal was ſurrendred.

Affairs at Sea.

Our Fleet was all the Summer Maſter of the Mediterranean: The French were put into great diſorder, and ſeemed to apprehend a Deſcent; for

Ruſſel

Ruſſel came before Marſeilles and Toulon oftner than once: Contrary winds forced him out to Sea again, but with no loſs. He himſelf told me, he believed nothing could be done there; only the honour of commanding the Sea, and of ſhutting the French within their Ports, gave a great reputation to our affairs. In Catalonia, the French made no progreſs; they abandoned Palamos, and made Gironne their Frontier. The Spaniards once pretended to beſiege Palamos, but they only pretended to do it: They deſired ſome men from Ruſſel, for he had Regiments of Marines on Board: They ſaid, they had begun the Siege, and were provided with every thing that was neceſſary to carry it on, only they wanted men; ſo he ſent them ſome Battallions: But when they came thither, they found not any one thing that was neceſſary to carry on a Siege, not ſo much as Spades, not to mention Guns and Ammunition: So Ruſſel ſent for his men back again. But the French of themſelves quitted the place; for as they found the charge of the War in Catalonia was great, and tho' they met with a feeble oppoſition from the Spaniards, yet ſince they ſaw they could not carry Barcelona, ſo long as our Fleet lay in thoſe Seas, they reſolved to lay by, in expectation of a better occaſion. We had another Fleet in our own Channel, that was ordered to bombard the French Coaſt: They did ſome execution upon St. Malos, and deſtroyed Grandvilie, that lay not far from it: They alſo attempted Dunkirk, but failed in the execution: Some Bombs were thrown into Calais, but without any great effect; ſo that the French did not ſuffer ſo much by the Bombardment, as was expected: The Country indeed was much alarmed by it; they had many Troops diſperſed all along their Coaſt; ſo that it put their affairs in great diſorder, and we were every where Maſters at Sea. Another Squadron, commanded by the Marquis of Caermarthen (whoſe Father was created Duke 1695.

1695. of Leeds, to colour the diſmiſſing him from buſi-
neſs, with an encreaſe of Title; lay off from the Iſles of Scilly, to ſecure our Trade, and convoy our Merchants. He was an extravagant man, both in his Pleaſures and Humours: He was ſlow in going to Sea; and, when he was out, he fancied the French Fleet was coming up to him, which proved to be only a Fleet of Merchant Ships: So he left his ſtation, and retired into Milford Haven; by which means, that Squadron became uſeleſs.

The Loſſes of our Merchants.

This proved fatal to our Trade; many of our Barbadoes Ships were taken by French Cruizers and Privateers: Two rich Ships, coming from the Eaſt-Indies, were alſo taken 150 Leagues to the Weſtward, by a very fatal accident, or by ſome treacherous advertiſement; for Cruizers ſeldom go ſo far into the Ocean: And to compleat the misfortunes of the Eaſt-India Company, three other Ships, that were come near Gallway, on the Weſt of Ireland, fell into the hands of ſome French Privateers: Thoſe five Ships were valued at a Million, ſo here was great occaſion of diſcontent in the City of London. They complained, that neither the Admiralty, nor the Government, took the care that was neceſſary for preſerving the Wealth of the Nation. A French Man of War, at the ſame time, fell upon our Factory on the Caſt of Guinea; he took the ſmall Fort we had there, and deſtroyed it: Theſe misfortunes were very ſenſible to the Nation, and did much abate the Joy, which ſo glorious a Campaign would otherwiſe have raiſed; and much matter was laid in for ill humour to work upon.

Affairs in Hungary.

The War went on in Hungary; the new Grand Signior came late into the Field; but as late as it was, the Imperialiſts were not ready to receive him: He tried to force his way into Tranſilvania, and took ſome weak and ill defended Forts, which he ſoon after abandoned: Veterani, who was the moſt beloved of all the Emperor's Generals, lay with a

ſmall

ſmall Army to defend the Entrance into Tranſilvania; the Turks fell upon him, and overpowered him with numbers; his Army was deſtroyed, and himſelf killed; but they ſold their Lives dear: The Turks loſt double their number, and their beſt Troops in the action; ſo that they had only the name and honour of a Victory; they were not able to proſecute it, nor to draw any advantage from it. The ſtragglers of the defeated Army drew together, towards the Paſſes: But none purſued them, and the Turks marched back to Adrianople, with the Triumph of having made a glorious Campaign. There were ſome ſlight Engagements at Sea, between the Venetians and the Turks, in which the former pretended they had the advantage; but nothing followed upon them. Thus affairs went on abroad during this Summer. 1695.

A Parliament in Scotland.

There was a Parliament held in Scotland, where the Marquis of Tweedale was the King's Commiſſioner: Every thing that was aſked for the King's Supply, and for the ſubſiſtance of his Troops, was granted: The Maſſacre in Glencoe made ſtill a great noiſe; and the King ſeemed too remiſs in inquiring into it. But when it was repreſented to him, that a Seſſion of Parliament could not be managed, without high motions and complaints of ſo crying a matter, and that his Miniſters could not oppoſe theſe, without ſeeming to bring the guilt of that Blood, that was ſo perfidiouſly ſhed, both on the King, and on themſelves: To prevent that, he ordered a Commiſſion to be paſſed under the Great Seal, for a precognition in that matter, which is a practice in the Law of Scotland, of examining into Crimes, before the Perſons concerned are brought upon their Trial. This was looked on as an artifice, to cover that tranſaction by a private enquiry; yet, when it was complained of in Parliament, not without reflections on the ſlackneſs in examining into it, the King's Commiſſioner aſſured them, that by the King's

1695. Order, the matter was then under examination, and that it ſhould be reported to the Parliament: The Enquiry went on; and, in the progreſs of it, a new practice of the Earl of Braidalbin's was diſcovered; for the Highlanders depoſed that, while he was treating with them, in order to their ſubmitting to the King, he had aſſured them, that he ſtill adhered to King James's Intereſt, and that he preſſed them to come into that Pacification, only to preſerve them for his ſervice, till a more favourable opportunity. This, with ſeveral other treaſonable diſcourſes of his, being reported to the Parliament, he covered himſelf with his pardon; but theſe diſcourſes happened to be ſubſequent to it; ſo he was ſent a Priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh: He pretended, he had ſecret Orders from the King, to ſay any thing that would give him credit with them; which the King owned ſo far, that he ordered a new pardon to be paſt for him. A great Party came to be formed in this Seſſion, of a very odd mixture; the High Preſbyterians, and the Jacobites, joined together to oppoſe every thing; yet it was not ſo ſtrong as to carry the Majority; but great heats aroſe among them.

The Buſineſs of Glencoe examined.

The Report of the Maſſacre of Glencoe, was made in full Parliament: By that it appeared, that a black deſign was laid, not only to cut off the men of Glencoe, but a great many more Clans, reckoned to be in all above Six Thouſand perſons: The whole was purſued in many Letters, that were writ with great earneſtneſs; and tho' the King's Orders carried nothing in them, that was in any ſort blameable, yet the Secretary of State's Letters went much further. So the Parliament juſtified the King's Inſtructions, but voted the execution in Glencoe, to have been a barbarous Maſſacre, and that it was puſhed on by the Secretary of State's Letters, beyond the King's Orders: Upon that, they voted an Addreſs to be made to the King, that he, and others concerned in that matter,

might be proceeded againſt according to Law: This was carried by a great Majority. 1695.

In this Seſſion, an Act paſt, in favour of ſuch of the Epiſcopal Clergy, as ſhould enter into thoſe engagements to the King, that were by Law required; that they ſhould continue in their Benefices under the King's Protection, without being ſubject to the power of the Preſbytery. This was carried with ſome addreſs, before the Preſbyterians were aware of the conſequences of it; for it was plainly that which they call Eraſtianiſm. A day was limited to the Clergy for taking the Oaths: And by a very zealous and dextrous management, about ſeventy of the beſt of them were brought to take the Oaths to the King; and ſo they came within the Protection promiſed them by the Act.

An Act for a new Company.

Another Act paſſed, that has already produced very fatal conſequences to that Kingdom, and may yet draw worſe after it: The Interlopers in the Eaſt-India Trade, finding that the Company was like to be favoured by the Parliament, as well as by the Court, were reſolved to try other methods to break in upon that Trade: They entred into a Treaty with ſome Merchants in Scotland; and they had, in the former Seſſion, procured an Act, that promiſed Letters Patents to all ſuch, as ſhould offer to ſet up new Manufactures, or drive any new Trade, not yet practiſed by that Kingdom, with an exemption for twenty one years from all Taxes and Cuſtoms, and with all ſuch other Privileges, as ſhould be found neceſſary for eſtabliſhing or encouraging ſuch projects. But here was a neceſſity of procuring Letters Patents, which they knew the credit, that the Eaſt-India Company had at Court, would certainly render ineffectual. So they were now in treaty for a new Act, which ſhould free them from that difficulty. There was one Paterſon, a man of no education, but of great Notions; which, as was generally ſaid, he had learned from the Buccaneers, with whom he had con-

1695. conſorted for ſome time. He had conſidered a place in Darien, where he thought a good Settlement might be made, with another over againſt it, in the South Sea; and by two Settlements there, he fancied a great Trade might be opened both for the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies; and that the Spaniards in the neighbourhood might be kept in great ſubjection to them; ſo he made the Merchants believe, that he had a great ſecret, which he did not think fit yet to diſcover, and reſerved to a fitter opportunity; only he deſired, that the Weſt-Indies might be named in any new Act, that ſhould be offered to the Parliament: He made them in general underſtand, that he knew of a Country, not poſſeſſed by Spaniards, where there were rich Mines, and Gold in abundance. While theſe matters were in treaty, the time of the King's giving the Inſtructions to his Commiſſioner for the Parliament came on; and it had been a thing of courſe, to give a general Inſtruction, to paſs all Bills for the encouragement of Trade. Johnſtoun told the King, that he heard there was a ſecret management among the Merchants for an Act in Scotland, under which the Eaſt-India Trade might be ſet up; ſo he propoſed, and drew an Inſtruction, impowering the Commiſſioner to paſs any Bill, promiſing Letters Patents for encouraging of Trade, yet limited, ſo that it ſhould not interfere with the Trade of England: When they went down to Scotland, the King's Commiſſioner either did not conſider this, or had no regard to it; for he gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act, that gave the Undertakers, either of the Eaſt-India or Weſt-India Trade, all poſſible privileges, with exemption of twenty one years from all Impoſitions: And the Act directed Letters Patents to be paſſed under the Great Seal, without any further Warrant for them: When this was printed, it gave a great alarm in England, more particularly to the Eaſt-India Company; for many of the Merchants of London reſolved

ſolved to join Stock with the Scotch Company; and the exemption from all Duties gave a great proſpect of gain. Such was the poſture of affairs in Scotland. 1695.

In Ireland, the three Lords Juſtices did not agree long together; the Lord Capel ſtudied to render himſelf popular, and eſpouſed the intereſts of the Engliſh againſt the Iriſh, without any nice regard to juſtice or equity: He was too eaſily ſet on, by thoſe who had their own end in it, to do every thing that gained him applauſe: The other two were men of ſevere tempers, and ſtudied to protect the Iriſh, when they were oppreſt; nor did they try to make themſelves otherwiſe popular, than by a wiſe and juſt Adminiſtration: So Lord Capel was highly magnified, and they were as much complained of, by all the Engliſh in Ireland. Lord Capel did undertake to manage a Parliament ſo, as to carry all things, if he was made Lord Deputy, and had power given him to place and diſplace ſuch as he ſhould name. This was agreed to, and a Parliament was held there, after he had made ſeveral removes: In the beginning of the Seſſion, things went ſmoothly; the ſupply that was aſked, for the ſupport of that Government, was granted; all the proceedings in King James's Parliament were annulled, and the great Act of Settlement was confirmed and explained, as they deſired: But this good temper was quickly loſt, by the heat of ſome, who had great credit with Lord Capel. Complaints were made of Sir Charles Porter, the Lord Chancellor, who was beginning to ſet on foot a Tory humour in Ireland, whereas it was certainly the intereſt of that Government, to have no other diviſion among them, but that of Engliſh and Iriſh, and of Proteſtant and Papiſt: Lord Capel's Party, moved in the Houſe of Commons, that Porter ſhould be impeached; but the grounds, upon which this motion was made, appeared to be ſo frivolous, after the Chancellor was heard Affairs in Ireland.

1695. heard by the Houſe of Commons, in his own juſtification, that he was voted clear from all imputation, by a Majority of two to one; this ſet the Lord Deputy and the Lord Chancellor, with all the friends of both, at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that it put a full ſtop, for ſome time, to all buſineſs.

Thus Factions were formed in all the King's Dominions; and he, being for ſo much of the year at a great diſtance from the ſcene, there was no pains taken to quiet theſe, and to check the animoſities which aroſe out of them. The King ſtudied only to ballance them, and to keep up among the Parties, a jealouſy of one another, that ſo he might oblige them all to depend more entirely on himſelf.

A new Parliament called.

As ſoon as the Campaign was over in Flanders, the King intended to come over directly into England; but he was kept long on the other ſide by contrary winds. The firſt point, that was under debate upon his arrival, was, whether a new Parliament ſhould be ſummoned, or the old one be brought together again, which by the Law that was lately paſſed, might ſit till Lady-day: The happy ſtate the Nation was in, put all men, except the Merchants, in a good temper; none could be ſure, we ſhould be in ſo good a ſtate next year; ſo that now probably Elections would fall on men, who were well affected to the Government; a Parliament, that ſaw it ſelf in its laſt Seſſion, might affect to be froward; the Members, by ſuch a behaviour, hoping to recommend themſelves to the next Election; beſides, if the ſame Parliament had been continued, probably the Enquiries into Corruption would have been carried on, which might divert them from more preſſing affairs, and kindle greater heats; all which might be more decently dropt by a new Parliament, than ſuffered to lie aſleep by the old one. Theſe conſiderations prevailed, tho' it was ſtill believed, that

that the King's own inclinations led him, to have continued the Parliament yet one Seſſion longer; for he reckoned, he was ſure of the major Vote in it. Thus this Parliament was brought to a Concluſion, and a new one was ſummoned. 1695.

The King made a progreſs to the North; and ſtaid ſome days at the Earl of Sunderland's, which was the firſt publick mark of the high favour he was in. The King ſtudied to conſtrain himſelf to a little more openneſs and affability, than was natural to him: But his cold and dry way had too deep a root, not to return too oft upon him; the Jacobites were ſo decried, that few of them were elected; but many of the ſourer ſort of Whigs, who were much alienated from the King, were choſen: Generally, they were men of Eſtates, but many were young, hot, and without experience. Foley was again choſen Speaker; the demand of the Supply was ſtill very high, and there was a great arrear of Deficiencies; all was readily granted, and lodged on Funds, that ſeemed to be very probable.

The ſtate of the Coin was conſidered, and there were great and long Debates about the proper remedies: The motion of raiſing the money above its intrinſick value, was ſtill much preſſed; many apprehended this matter could not be cured, without caſting us into great diſorders: Our money they thought would not paſs, and ſo the Markets would not be furniſhed; and it is certain, that if there had been ill humours then ſtirring in the Nation, this might have caſt us into great Convulſions. But none happened, to the diſappointment of our Enemies, who had their eyes and hopes long fixed on the effects this might produce. All came in the end to a wiſe and happy reſolution of Recoining all the Specie of England, in mill'd money; all the old money was ordered to be brought in, in publick Payments, or Loans to the Exchequer, and that by degrees; firſt the half Crown pieces, and the reſt of the money by a longer day; The ſtate of the Coin rectified.

money

1695. money of a bad Allay, as well as clipt money, was to be received; tho' this was thought an ill precedent, and that it gave too much encouragement to falſe Coining; yet it was judged neceſſary upon this occaſion; and it gave a preſent calm to a ferment, that was then working all England over. Twelve hundred thouſand Pounds was given, to ſupply the deficiency of the bad and clipt money. So this matter was happily ſettled, and was put in a way to be effectually remedied, and it was executed with an order and a juſtice, with a quiet and an exactneſs, beyond all mens expectation. So that we were freed from a great and threatning miſchief, without any of thoſe effects, that were generally apprehended from it.

An Act of Trials in Caſes of Treaſon.

The Bill of Trials in Caſes of Treaſon, was again brought into the Houſe of Commons, and paſſed there; when it came up to the Lords, they added the Clauſe, for ſummoning all the Peers to the Trial of a Peer, which was not eaſily carried; for thoſe, who wiſhed well to the Bill, looked on this as a device to loſe it, as no doubt it was; and therefore they oppoſed it; but, contrary to the hopes of the Court, the Commons were ſo deſirous of the Bill, that when it came down to them, they agreed to the Clauſe, and ſo the Bill paſſed, and had the Royal Aſſent.

Acts concerning Elections to Parliament.

A ſevere Bill was brought in, for voiding all the Elections of Parliament Men, where the Elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure Votes: It was very ſtrictly penned; but time muſt ſhew, whether any evaſions can be found out to avoid it: Certainly, if it has the deſired effect, it would prove one of the beſt Laws that ever was made in England; for abuſes in Elections were grown to moſt intolerable exceſſes, which threatned even the ruin of the Nation. Another Act paſſed againſt unlawful and double Returns; for perſons had been often returned, plainly contrary to the Vote of the Majority; and

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in Burroughs, where there was a conteſt, between the ſelect number of the Corporation, and the whole Populace, both ſides had obtained favourable deciſions, as that ſide prevailed, on which the perſon elected happened to be; ſo both Elections were returned, and the Houſe judged the matter. But by this Act, all Returns were ordered to be made, according to the laſt determination of the Houſe of Commons: Theſe were thought good Securities for future Parliaments; it had been happy for the Nation, if the firſt of theſe had proved as effectual, as the laſt was. 1695.

Great Complaints were made in both Houſes of the Act for the Scotch Eaſt-India Company, and Addreſſes were made to the King, ſetting forth the Inconveniencies that were like to ariſe from thence to England: The King anſwered, that he had been ill ſerved in Scotland; but he hoped Remedies ſhould be found, to prevent the ill conſequences, that they apprehended from the Act: And ſoon after this, he turned out both the Secretaries of State, and the Marquis of Tweedale: And great Changes were made in the whole Miniſtry of that Kingdom, both high and low. No Enquiry was made, nor proceedings ordered, concerning the buſineſs of Glencoe; ſo that furniſhed the Libellers with ſome colours, in aſperſing the King, as if he muſt have been willing to ſuffer it to be executed, ſince he ſeemed ſo unwilling to let it be puniſhed. Complaints of the Scotch Act.

But when it was underſtood in Scotland, that the King had diſowned the Act for the Eaſt-India Company, from which it was expected that great Riches ſhould flow into that Kingdom, it is not eaſy to conceive how great, and how general an indignation was ſpread over the whole Kingdom; the Jacobites ſaw what a Game it was like to prove in their hands; they played it with great ſkill, and to the advantage of their cauſe, in a courſe of many years; and continue to manage it to this day: Scotland much ſet on ſupporting it.

There

1695. There was a great deal of noiſe made of the Scotch Act in both Houſes of Parliament in England by ſome, who ſeemed to have no other deſign in that, but to heighten our diſtractions, by the apprehenſions that they expreſſed. The Scotch Nation fancied nothing but Mountains of Gold; and the credit of the deſign roſe ſo high, that Subſcriptions were made, and advances of money were offered, beyond what any believed the Wealth of that Kingdom could have furniſhed. Paterſon came to have ſuch credit among them, that the deſign of the Eaſt-India Trade, how promiſing ſoever, was wholly laid aſide; and they reſolved to employ all their wealth, in the ſettling a Colony, with a Port and Fortifications in Darien, which was long kept a ſecret, and was only truſted to a ſelect number, empowered by this new Company, who aſſumed to themſelves the name of the African Company, tho' they never meddled with any concern in that part of the World: The unhappy progreſs of this affair will appear in its proper time.

A motion for a Council of Trade.

The Loſſes of the Merchants gave great advantages to thoſe, who complained of the Adminiſtration; the conduct, with relation to our Trade, was repreſented as at beſt a neglect of the Nation, and of its Proſperity: Some, with a more ſpiteful malice, ſaid, it was deſigned, that we ſhould ſuffer in our Trade, that the Dutch might carry it from us: And how extravagant ſoever this might ſeem, it was often repeated by ſome men of virulent tempers. And in the end, when all the errors, with relation to the protection of our Trade, were ſet out, and much aggravated, a motion was made to create, by Act of Parliament, a Council of Trade.

This was oppoſed by thoſe, who looked on it, as a change of our Conſtitution, in a very eſſential point: The Executive part of the Government was wholly in the King: So that the appointing any Council, by Act of Parliament, began a Prece-

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dent of their breaking in upon the execution of the Law, in which, it could not be eaſy to ſee how far they might be carried; it was indeed offered, that this Council ſhould be much limited as to its Powers; yet many apprehended, that if the Parliament named the perſons, how low ſoever their powers might be at firſt, they would be enlarged every Seſſion; and from being a Council to look into matters of Trade, they would be next empowered to appoint Convoys and Cruizers; this in time, might draw in the whole Admiralty, and that part of the Revenue or Supply, that was appropriated to the Navy; ſo that a King would ſoon grow to be a Duke of Venice; and indeed thoſe, who ſet this on moſt zealouſly, did not deny that they deſigned to graft many things upon it. 1695.

The King was ſo ſenſible of the ill effects this would have, that he ordered his Miniſters to oppoſe it, as much as poſſibly they could: The Earl of Sunderland, to the wonder of many, declared for it, as all that depended on him promoted it: He was afraid of the violence of the Republican Party, and would not venture on provoking them; the Miniſters were much offended with him, for taking this method to recommend himſelf at their coſt; the King himſelf took it ill, and he told me, if he went on, driving it as he did, that he muſt break with him; he imputed it to his Fear for the unhappy ſteps he had made in King James's time, which gave his Enemies ſo many handles and colours for attacking him, that he would venture on nothing, that might provoke them. Here was a Debate, plainly in a point of Prerogative, how far the Government ſhould continue on its antient bottom of Monarchy, as to the Executive part; or how far it ſhould turn to a Commonwealth; and yet by an odd reverſe, the Whigs, who were now moſt employed, argued for the Prerogative, while the Tories ſeemed zealous for publick Li-

1695. berty: So powerfully does intereſt biaſs men of all forms.

A Conſpiracy diſcovered,

This was going on, and probably would have paſt in both Houſes, when the diſcovery of a Conſpiracy turned mens thoughts quite another way: So that all angry motions were let fall, and the Seſſion came to a very happy concluſion, with greater advantages to the King, than could have been otherwiſe expected. We were all this Winter alarmed, from many different quarters, with the inſolent diſcourſes of the Jacobites, who ſeemed ſo well aſſured of a ſudden Revolution, which was to be both quick and entire, that at Chriſtmas they ſaid, it would be brought about, within ſix weeks. The French Fleet, which we had ſo long ſhut up within Toulon, was now fitting out, and was ordered to come round to Breſt; our Fleet, that lay at Cadiz, was not ſtrong enough to fight them, when they ſhould paſs the Streights; Ruſſel had come home, with many of the great Ships, and had left only a Squadron there; but a great Fleet was ordered to go thither; it was ready to have ſailed in December; but was kept in our Ports by contrary Winds, till February; this was then thought a great unhappineſs; but we found afterwards, that our preſervation was chiefly owing to it; and it was ſo extraordinary a thing, to ſee the wind fixed at South Weſt during the whole Winter, that few could reſiſt the obſerving a ſignal Providence of God in it. We were all this while in great pain for Rook, who commanded the Squadron that lay at Cadiz; and was like to ſuffer for want of the Proviſions and Stores, which this Fleet was to carry him, beſides the addition of ſtrength this would bring him, in caſe the Toulon Squadron ſhould come about; we were only apprehenſive of danger from that Squadron; for we thought, that we could be in none at home, till that Fleet was brought about; the advertiſements came from many places, that ſome very important thing

thing was ready to break out: It is true, the Jacobites fed their Party with such stories every year; but they both talked and wrote now with more than ordinary assurance. The King had been so accustomed to alarms and reports of this kind, that he had now so little regard to them, as scarce to be willing to hearken to those, who brought him such advertisements. He was so much set on preparing for the next Campaign, that all other things were little considered by him. 1695.

Of assassinating the King.

But in the beginning of February, one Captain Fisher came to the Earl of Portland, and in general told him, there was a design to assassinate the King; but he would not, or could not then name any of the persons, who were concerned in it; he never appeared more, for he had assurances given him, that he should not be made use of as a witness; few days after that, one Pendergrass, an Irish Officer, came to the Earl of Portland, and discovered all that he knew of the matter; he freely told him his own name; but would not name any of the Conspirators; La Rue, a Frenchman, came also to Brigadier Levison, and discovered to him all that he knew; these two (Pendergrass and La Rue) were brought to the King apart, not knowing of one another's discovery: They gave an account of two Plots then on foot, the one for assassinating the King, and the other for invading the Kingdom. The King was not easily brought to give credit to this, till a variety of circumstances, in which the Discoveries did agree, convinced him of the truth of the whole design.

It has been already told, in how many Projects King James was engaged, for assassinating the King; but all these had failed; so now one was laid, that gave better hopes, and look'd liker a Military action, than a foul murder: Sir George Berkeley, a Scotchman, received a Commission from King James, to go and attack the Prince of Orange, in his Winter Quarters: Charnock, Sir

1695. William Perkins, Captain Porter, and La Rue, were the men to whoſe conduct the matter was truſted; the Duke of Berwick came over, and had ſome diſcourſe with them about the method of executing it: Forty Perſons were thought neceſſary for the attempt; they intended to watch the King, as he ſhould go out to hunt, or come back from it in his Coach; ſome of them were to engage the Guards, while others ſhould attack the King, and either carry him off a Priſoner, or, in caſe of any reſiſtance, kill him. This ſoft manner was propoſed, to draw Military men to act in it, as a warlike Exploit: Porter and Knightly went and viewed the Grounds, and the way thro' which the King paſt, as he went between Kenſington and Richmond Park, where he uſed to hunt commonly on Saturdays; and they pitched on two places, where they thought they might well execute the deſign. King James ſent over ſome of his Guards to aſſiſt in it; he ſpoke himſelf to one Harris to go over, and to obey ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from Berkeley; he ordered money to be given him, and told him, that, if he was forced to ſtay long at Calais, the Preſident there would have orders to furniſh him.

1696. And to invade the Kingdom. When the Duke of Berwick had laid the matter ſo well here, that he thought it could not miſcarry, he went back to France, and met King James at St. Denis, who was come ſo far on his way from Paris: He ſtopt there, and after a long Conference with the Duke of Berwick, he ſent him firſt to his Queen at St. Germains, and then to the King of France, and he himſelf called for a Notary, and paſſed ſome Act: But it was not known to what effect. When that was done, he purſued his journey to Calais, to ſet himſelf at the head of an Army of about 20000 men, that were drawn out of the Garriſons, which lay near that Frontier. Theſe being full in that ſeaſon, an Army was in a very few

few days brought together, without any previous warning or noiſe. There came every Winter a coaſting Fleet, from all the Sea-ports of France to Dunkirk, with all the proviſions for a Campaign; and it was given out, that the French intended an early one this year. So that this coaſting Fleet was ordered to be there by the end of January; thus here were Tranſport Ships, as well as an Army, brought together in a very ſilent manner; there was alſo a ſmall Fleet of Cruizers, and ſome Men of War ready to convoy them over; many Regiments were embarked, and King James was waiting at Calais, for ſome tidings of that, on which he chiefly depended; for upon the firſt notice of the ſucceſs of the Aſſaſſination, he was reſolved to have ſet ſail: So near was the matter brought to a Criſis, when it broke out by the diſcovery, made by the perſons above named. La Rue told all particulars, with the greateſt frankneſs, and named all the perſons that they had intended to engage in the execution of it; for ſeveral Liſts were among them, and thoſe who concerted the matter, had thoſe Liſts given them; and took it for granted, that every man named in thoſe Liſts was engaged; ſince they were perſons on whom they depended, as knowing their inclinations, and believing that they would readily enter into the Project: tho' it had not been, at that time, propoſed to many of them, as it appeared afterwards. The deſign was laid, to ſtrike the Blow on the 15th of February, in a Lane that turns down from Turnham-Green to Brentford; and the Conſpirators were to be ſcattered about the Green, in Taverns and Alehouſes, and to be brought together, upon a ſignal given. They were caſt into ſeveral parties, and an Aid de Camp was aſſigned to every one of them, both to bring them together, and to give the whole the air of a Military action: Pendergraſs owned very freely to the King, that he was engaged in intereſt againſt him, as he was of a Reli- 1696.

1696. gion contrary to his: He ſaid, he would have no Reward for his diſcovery; but he hated a baſe action; and the point of Honour was the only motive that prevailed on him: He owned, that he was deſired to aſſiſt in the ſeizing on him, and he named the perſon that was fixed on to ſhoot him; he abhorred the whole thing, and immediately came to reveal it. His ſtory did in all particulars agree with La Rue's: For ſome time he ſtood on it, as a point of Honour, to name no perſon; but upon aſſurance given him, that he ſhould not be brought as a witneſs againſt them, he named all he knew. The King ordered the Coaches and Guards to be made ready next morning, being the 15th of February, and a Saturday, his uſual day of hunting; but ſome accident was pretended to cover his not going abroad that day: The Conſpirators continued to meet together, not doubting but that they ſhould have occaſion to execute their deſign the next Saturday: They had ſome always about Kenſington, who came and went continually, and brought them an account of every thing that paſt there; On Saturday, the 22d of February, they put themſelves in a readineſs, and were going out to take the Poſts aſſigned them; but were ſurpriſed, when they had notice that the King's Hunting was put off a ſecond time; they apprehended they might be diſcovered: Yet as none were ſeized, they ſoon quieted themſelves.

Many of the Conſpirators ſeized on.

Next night, a great many of them were taken in their beds: And the day following, the whole diſcovery was laid before the Privy Council. At the ſame time, Advices were ſent to the King from Flanders, that the French Army was marching to Dunkirk, on deſign to invade England. And now, by a very happy Providence, tho' hitherto a very unacceptable one, we had a great Fleet at Spithead ready to ſail: And we had another Fleet, deſigned for the Summer's ſervice in our own Seas, quite ready, tho' not yet manned. Many brave Seamen,

men, seeing the Nation was in such visible danger, came out of their lurking holes, in which they were hiding themselves from the Press, and offered their Service: And all people shewed so much zeal, that in three days, Russel, who was sent to command, stood over to the Coast of France, with a Fleet of above fifty Men of War. The French were amazed at this; and upon it, their Ships drew so near their Coasts, that he durst not follow them in such shallow Water, but was contented with breaking their Design, and driving them into their Harbours. King James stayed for some weeks there. But, as the French said, his malignant Star still blasted every project that was formed for his Service. 1696.

The Court of France was much out of countenance with this disappointment; for that King had ordered his design of invading England, to be communicated to all the Courts, in which he had Ministers: And they spoke of it with such an air of assurance, as gave violent presumptions, that the King of France knew of the Conspiracy against the King's Person, and depended upon it; for indeed, without that, the Design was impracticable, considering how great a Fleet we had at Spithead: Nor could any Men of common sense have entertained a thought of it, but with a view of the Confusion, into which the intended Assassination must have cast us. They went on in England, seizing the Conspirators; and a Proclamation was issued out, for apprehending those that absconded, with a promise of a thousand Pound Reward, to such as should seize on any of them, and the offer of a Pardon to every Conspirator, that should seize on any of the rest: This set all people at work, and in a few weeks most of them were apprehended; only Berkeley was not found, who had brought the Commission from King James, tho' great search was made for him. For, tho' the reality of such a Commission was fully proved afterwards, in the

The design of the Invasion broken.

1696. Trials of the Conſpirators, by the evidence of thoſe who had ſeen and read it all written in King James's own hand (ſuch a Paper being too important to be truſted to any to copy) yet much pains was taken to have found the very perſon who was intruſted with it: The Commiſſion itſelf would have been a valuable piece, and ſuch an Original, as was not to be found any where.

The Military Men would not engage on other terms: They thought, by the Laws of War, they were bound to obey all Orders that run in a Military Stile, and no other; and ſo they imagined that their part in it was as innocent, as the going on any deſperate deſign during a Campaign. Many of them repined at the Service, and wiſhed that it had not been put on them; but, being commanded, they fancied that they were liable to no Blame nor Infamy, but ought to be treated as Priſoners of War.

Porter diſcovered

Among thoſe who were taken, Porter and Pendergraſs were brought in. Porter had been a vitious man, engaged in many ill things; and was very forward and furious in all their Conſultations. The Lord Cutts, who, as Captain of the Guards, was preſent when the King examined Pendergraſs, but did not know his name, when he ſaw him brought in, preſſed him to own himſelf, and the ſervice that he had already done; but he claimed the promiſe of not being forced to be a Witneſs, and would ſay nothing. Porter was a man of pleaſure, who loved not the hardſhips of a Priſon, and much leſs the ſolemnities of an Execution; ſo he confeſſed all: And then Pendergraſs, who had his dependance on him, freely confeſſed likewiſe. He ſaid, Porter was the man who had truſted him: He could not be an Inſtrument to deſtroy him; yet he lay under no obligations to any others among them. Porter had been in the management of the whole matter; ſo he gave a very copious account of it all, from the firſt beninning. And now it appeared,

appeared, that Pendergraſs had been but a very few days among them, and had ſeen very few of them; and that he came and diſcovered the Conſpiracy, the next day after it was opened to him. 1696.

When by theſe Examinations the matter was clear and undeniable, the King communicated it, in a Speech to both Houſes of Parliament: They immediately made Addreſſes of Congratulation, with aſſurances of adhering to him againſt all his Enemies, and in particular, againſt King James; and after that, Motions were made in both Houſes for an Aſſociation, wherein they ſhould own him as their Rightful and Lawful King, and promiſe faithfully to adhere to him againſt King James, and the pretended Prince of Wales; engaging at the ſame time to maintain the Act of Succeſſion, and to revenge his Death on all who ſhould be concerned in it. This was much oppoſed in both Houſes, chiefly by Seimour and Finch in the Houſe of Commons, and the Earl of Nottingham in the Houſe of Lords. They went chiefly upon this, that "Rightful and Lawful" were words that had been laid aſide in the beginning of this Reign; that they imported one that was King by Deſcent, and ſo could not belong to the preſent King. They ſaid, the Crown and the Prerogatives of it were veſted in him, and therefore they would obey him, and be faithful to him, tho' they could not acknowledge him their Rightful and Lawful King. Great exceptions were alſo taken to the word "Revenge," as not of an Evangelical ſound: But that word was ſo explained, that theſe were ſoon cleared; Revenge was to be meant in a legal ſenſe, either in the proſecution of Juſtice at home, or of War abroad: And the ſame word had been uſed in that Aſſociation, into which the Nation entered, when it was apprehended that Queen Elizabeth's Life was in danger, by the practices of the Queen of Scots. After a warm Debate, it was carried in both Houſes, that an Aſſociation ſhould be laid on the

Both Houſes of Parliament enter into a voluntary Aſſociation.

1695. the Table, and that it might be ſigned by all ſuch, as were willing of their own accord to ſign it; only with this difference, that inſtead of the words "Rightful and Lawful King," the Lords put theſe words, That King William hath the Right by Law to the Crown of theſe Realms, and that neither King James, nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other perſon, has any Right whatſoever to the ſame. This was done to ſatisfy thoſe, who ſaid, they could not come up to the words "Rightful and Lawful:" And the Earl of Rocheſter offering theſe words, they were thought to anſwer the ends of the Aſſociation, and ſo were agreed to. This was ſigned by both Houſes, excepting only Fourſcore in the Houſe of Commons, and Fifteen in the Houſe of Lords. The Aſſociation was carried from the Houſes of Parliament over all England, and was ſigned by all ſorts of people, a very few only excepted. The Biſhops alſo drew a Form for the Clergy, according to that ſigned by the Houſe of Lords, with ſome ſmall variation, which was ſo univerſally ſigned, that not above an hundred all England over refuſed it.

Soon after this, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, declaring all men incapable of publick Truſt, or to ſerve in Parliament, who did not ſign the Aſſociation. This paſt with no conſiderable oppoſition; for thoſe who had ſigned it of their own accord, were not unwilling to have it made general; and ſuch as had refuſed it when it was voluntary, were reſolved to ſign it, as ſoon as the Law ſhould be made for it. And at the ſame time, an Order paſt in Council, for reviewing all the Commiſſions in England, and for turning out of them all thoſe who had not ſigned the Aſſociation, while it was voluntary; ſince this ſeemed to be ſuch a declaration of their Principles and Affections, that it was not thought reaſonable that ſuch perſons ſhould be any longer either Juſtices of Peace, or Deputy Lieutenants.

The

The Seſſion of Parliament was ſoon brought to a concluſion. They created one Fund, upon which two Millions and an half were to be raiſed, which the beſt judges did apprehend was neither juſt nor prudent. A new Bank was propoſed, called the Land Bank, becauſe the Securities were to be upon Land: This was the main difference between it and the Bank of England: And by reaſon of this, it was pretended, that it was not contrary to a Clauſe in the Act for that Bank, that no other Bank ſhould be ſet up in oppoſition to it. There was a ſet of Undertakers, who engaged that it ſhould prove effectual, for the Money for which it was given: This was chiefly managed by Foley, Harley, and the Tories: It was much laboured by the Earl of Sunderland; and the King was prevailed on to conſent to it, or rather to deſire it, tho' he was then told by many, of what ill conſequence it would prove to his affairs. The Earl of Sunderland's excuſe for himſelf, when the Error appeared afterwards but too evidently, was, that he thought it would engage the Tories in intereſt to ſupport the Government. 1696. A Fund upon a Land Bank.

After moſt of the Conſpirators were taken, and all Examinations were over, ſome of them were brought to their Trials. Charnock, King, and Keys, were begun with: The Deſign was fully proved againſt them. Charnock ſhewed great preſence of mind, with temper and good judgment, and made as good a defence as the matter could bear: But the proof was ſo full, that they were all found guilty. Endeavours were uſed to perſuade Charnock to confeſs all he knew; for he had been in all their Plots from the beginning. His Brother was employed to deal with him, and he ſeemed to be once in ſuſpence: But the next time that his Brother came to him, he told him, He could not ſave his own Life without doing that, which would take away the Lives of ſo many, that he did not think his own Life worth it. This ſhewed a great- Charnock and others tried and executed.

neſs

1696. nefs of mind that had been very valuable, if it had been better directed. Thus this matter was underſtood at the time. But many years after this, the Lord Somers gave me a different account of it. Charnock, as he told me, ſent an Offer to the King, of a full diſcovery of all their conſultations and deſigns; and deſired no pardon, but only that he might live in ſome eaſy priſon; and if he was found to prevaricate, in any part of his diſcovery, he would look for the execution of the Sentence. But the King apprehended, that ſo many perſons would be found concerned, and thereby be rendred deſperate, that he was afraid to have ſuch a Scene opened, and would not accept of this offer. At his death, Charnock delivered a paper, in which he confeſſed, he was engaged in a deſign to attack the Prince of Orange's Guards: But he thought himſelf bound to clear King James, from having given any Commiſſion to aſſaſſinate him. King's Paper, who ſuffered with him, was to the ſame purpoſe; and they both took pains to clear all thoſe of their Religion, from any acceſſion to it. King expreſſed a ſenſe of the Unlawfulneſs of the undertaking; but Charnock ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the lawfulneſs of it. Keys was a poor ignorant Trumpeter, who had his dependance on Porter, and now ſuffered chiefly upon his Evidence, for which he was much reflected on. It was ſaid, that Servants had often been Witneſſes againſt their Maſters, but that a Maſter's witneſſing againſt his Servant, was ſomewhat new and extraordinary.

King James was not acquitted by them.

The way that Charnock and King took to vindicate King James, did rather faſten the imputation more upon him: They did not deny, that he had ſent over a Commiſſion to attack the Prince of Orange, which, as Porter depoſed, Charnock told him he had ſeen. If this had been denied by a dying man, his laſt words would have been of ſome weight: But inſtead of denying that which was ſworn, he only denied, that King James had given

given a Commiſſion for Aſſaſſination: And it ſeems great weight was laid on this Word; for all the Conſpirators agreed in it, and denied that King James had given a Commiſſion to aſſaſſinate the Prince of Orange. This was an odious word, and perhaps no perſon was ever ſo wicked, as to order ſuch a thing, in ſo crude a manner: But the ſending a Commiſſion to attack the King's Perſon, was the ſame thing upon the matter; and was all that the witneſſes had depoſed. Therefore their not denying this, in the terms in which the Witneſſes ſwore it, did plainly imply a Confeſſion that it was true. But ſome, who had a mind to deceive themſelves or others, laid hold on this, and made great uſe of it, that dying men had acquitted King James of the Aſſaſſination. Such ſlight colours will ſerve, when people are engaged before-hand to believe as their affections lead them. 1696.

Friend and Perkins tried and ſuffered.

Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, were tried next. The firſt of theſe had riſen from mean beginnings to great credit, and much wealth: He was employed by King James, and had all this while ſtuck firm to his intereſts: His Purſe was more conſidered than his head, and was open on all occaſions, as the Party applied to him. While Parker was formerly in the Tower, upon Information of an Aſſaſſination of the King deſigned by him, he furniſhed the money that corrupted his Keepers, and helped him to make his eſcape out of the Tower: He knew of the Aſſaſſination, tho' he was not to be an Actor in it: But he had a Commiſſion for raiſing a Regiment for King James, and he had entertained and payed the Officers who were to ſerve under him: He had alſo joined with thoſe who had ſent over Charnock, in May 1695, with the Meſſage to King James, mentioned in the account of the former year: It appearing now, that they had then deſired an Invaſion with 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, and had promiſed to join theſe with 2000 Horſe upon their landing. In this, the

Earl

1696. Earl of Ailesbury, the Lord Montgomery, Son to the Marquess of Powys, and Sir John Fenwick, were also concerned: Upon all this evidence, Friend was condemned, and the Earl of Ailesbury was committed Prisoner to the Tower. Perkins was a Gentleman of Estate, who had gone violently into the Passions and Interests of the Court, in King Charles's time: He was one of the six Clerks in Chancery, and took all Oaths to the Government, rather than lose his Place: He did not only consent to the design of Assassination, but undertook to bring five men, who should assist in it; and he had brought up Horses for that Service, from the Country; but had not named the Persons; so this lay yet in his own breast. He himself was not to have acted in it, for he likewise had a Commission for a Regiment; and therefore, was to reserve himself for that Service: He had also provided a stock of Arms, which were hid under Ground, and were now discovered: Upon this Evidence, he was condemned. Great endeavours were used, both with Friend and him, to confess all they knew: Friend was more sullen, as he knew less; for he was only applied to and trusted, when they needed his money. Perkins fluctuated more: He confessed the whole thing for which he was condemned; but would not name the five persons whom he was to have sent in to assist in the Assassination: He said, he had engaged them in it, so he could not think of saving his own Life by destroying theirs: He confessed, he had seen King James's Commission; the words differed a little from those which Porter had told; but Porter did not swear that he saw it himself; he only related what Charnock had told him concerning it; yet Perkins said, they were to the same effect: He believed, it was all writ with King James's own hand, he had seen his writing often, and was confident it was writ by him: He owned, that he had raised and maintained a Regiment; but he thought he could

could not ſwear againſt his Officers, ſince he him- 1696.
ſelf had drawn him into the Service; and he af-
firmed that he knew nothing of the other Regi-
ments. He ſent for the Biſhop of Ely, to whom
he repeated all theſe particulars, as the Biſhop
himſelf told me: He ſeemed much troubled with
a ſenſe of his former Life, which had been very
irregular. The Houſe of Commons ſent ſome to
examine him; but he gave them ſo little ſatisfac-
tion, that they left him to the courſe of the Law:
His tenderneſs, in not accuſing thoſe whom he
had drawn in, was ſo generous, that this alone
ſerved to create ſome regard for a man, who had
been long under a very bad Character. In the be-
ginning of April, Friend and he were executed
together.

A very unuſual inſtance of the boldneſs of the
Jacobites appeared upon that occaſion: Theſe two
had not changed their Religion, but ſtill called
themſelves Proteſtants; ſo three of the Nonjuring
Clergymen waited on them to Tyburn, two of
them had been oft with Friend, and one of them
with Perkins: And all the three, at the place of
Execution, joined to give them Publick Abſolu-
tion, with an impoſition of Hands, in the view
of all the People; a ſtrain of impudence, that was
as new as it was wicked; ſince theſe perſons died,
owning the ill Deſigns they had been engaged in,
and expreſſing no ſort of Repentance for them.
So theſe Clergymen, in this ſolemn Abſolution,
made an open Declaration of their allowing and
juſtifying theſe perſons, in all they had been con-
cerned in: Two of theſe were taken, and cenſured
for this in the King's Bench, the third made his
eſcape.

They had a publick Abſolution given them.

Three other Conſpirators, Rookwood, Lowick,
and Cranborn, were tried next. By this time, the
new Act for Trials in ſuch caſes began to take
place, ſo theſe held long; for their Council ſtuck
upon every thing. But the Evidence was now

Other Conſpirators tried and executed.

1696. more copious: For three other Witneſſes came in; the Government being ſo gentle as to pardon even the Conſpirators who confeſſed their guilt, and were willing to be Witneſſes againſt others. The two firſt were Papiſts, they expreſſed their diſlike of the Deſign; but inſiſted on this, that as Military Men, they were bound to obey all Military Orders; and they thought, that the King, who knew the Laws of War, ought to have a regard to this, and to forgive them. Cranborn called himſelf a Proteſtant, but was more ſullen than the other two; to ſuch a degree of fury and perverſeneſs had the Jacobites wrought up their Party. Knightly was tried next: He confeſſed all, and upon that, tho' he was condemned, he had a Reprieve, and was afterwards pardoned. Theſe were all the Trials and Executions that even this black Conſpiracy drew from the Government; for the King's Inclinations were ſo merciful, that he ſeemed uneaſy even under theſe Acts of neceſſary Juſtice.

Cook tried for the Invaſion.

Cook was brought next upon his Trial, on account of the intended Invaſion; for he was not charged with the Aſſaſſination: His Trial was conſidered as introductory to the Earl of Aileſbury's; for the Evidence was the ſame as to both. Porter and Goodman were two Witneſſes againſt him: They had been with him at a meeting, in a Tavern in Leadenhall Street, where Charnock received Inſtructions to go to France, with the Meſſage formerly mentioned: All that was brought againſt this was, that the Maſter of the Tavern, and two of his Servants ſwore, that they remembred well when that Company was at the Tavern, for they were often coming into the Room where they ſat, both at dinner time, and after it; and that they ſaw not Goodman there; nay, they were poſitive, that he was not there. On the other hand, Porter depoſed, that Goodman was not with them at dinner; but that he came to that Houſe after dinner, and

and sent him in a note; upon which he, with the consent of the Company, went out and brought him in: And then it was certain, that the Servants of the House were not in that constant attendance; nor could they be believed in a negative, against positive evidence to the contrary. Their credit was not such, but that it might be well supposed, that, for the interest of their house, they might be induced to make stretches. The Evidence was believed, and Cook was found guilty, and condemned: He obtained many short Reprieves, upon assurances that he would tell all he knew: But it was visible he did not deal sincerely; his punishment ended in a Banishment. Sir John Fenwick was taken not long after, going over to France, and was ordered to prepare for his Trial: Upon which, he seemed willing to discover all he knew: And in this he went off and on, for he had no mind to die, and hoped to save himself by some practice or other. Several days were set for his Trial, and he procured new delays, by making some new discoveries. At last, when he saw that slight and general ones would not serve his turn, he sent for the Duke of Devonshire, and wrote a Paper as a discovery, which he gave him to be sent to the King; and that Duke, affirming to the Lords Justices, that it was not fit that Paper should be seen by any before the King saw it, the matter was suffered to rest for this time. 1696.

The Campaign beyond Sea feebly carried on.

The Summer went over, both in Flanders and on the Rhine, without any action: All the Funds given for this year's Service proved defective, but that of the Land Bank failed totally; and the credit of the Bank of England was much shaken. About five Millions of clipt money was brought into the Exchequer; and the loss that the Nation suffered, by the recoining of the money, amounted to two Millions, and two Hundred Thousand pounds. The Coinage was carried on with all possible haste; about eighty thousand pounds was

1696. coined every Week: Yet ſtill this was ſlow, and the new money was generally kept up; ſo that, for ſeveral months, little of it appeared. This ſtop in the free Circulation of money, put the Nation into great diſorder: Thoſe who, according to the Act of Parliament, were to have the firſt Payments in Milled money, for the Loans they had made, kept their Specie up, and would not let it go, but at an unreaſonable advantage. The King had no money to pay his Army, ſo they were in great diſtreſs, which they bore with wonderful patience. By this means, the King could undertake nothing, and was forced to lie on the defenſive: Nor were the French ſtrong enough to make an Impreſſion in any place: The King had a mighty Army, and was much ſuperior to the Enemy; yet he could do nothing: And it paſſed for a happy Campaign, becauſe the French were not able to take any advantage from thoſe ill accidents, that our want of Specie brought us under; which indeed were ſuch, that nothing but the ſenſe all had of the late Conſpiracy, kept us quiet and free from tumults. It now appeared what a ſtrange error the King was led into, when he accepted of ſo great a Sum, to be raiſed by a Land Bank: It was ſcarce honourable, and not very ſafe at any time; but it might have proved fatal at a time in which money was like to be much wanted, which want would have been leſs felt, if Paper Credit had been kept up: But one Bank working againſt another, and the Goldſmiths againſt both, put us to great ſtreights: Yet the Bank ſupplied the King in this extremity, and thereby convinced him, that they were his friends in affection, as well as intereſt.

A Peace in Piedmont.

The ſecret practices in Italy were now ready to break out: The Pope and the Venetians had a mind to ſend the Germans out of Italy, and to take the Duke of Savoy out of the neceſſity of depending on thoſe they called Hereticks. The management in the buſineſs of Caſal looked ſo dark, that the

the Lord Gallway, who was the King's General and Envoy there, did apprehend there was somewhat myſterious under it. One ſtep more remained, to ſettle the Peace there; for the Duke of Savoy would not own that he was in any Negotiation, till he ſhould have received the advances of money that were promiſed him from England and Holland; for he was much ſet on the heaping of Treaſure, even during the War; to which end he had debaſed the Coin ſo, that it was not above a ſixth part in intrinſick value of what it paſſed for. He was always beſet with his Prieſts, who were perpetually complaining of the progreſs that Hereſy was like to make in his Dominions: He had indeed granted a very full Edict, in favour of the Vaudois, reſtoring their former Liberties and Privileges to them, which the Lord Gallway took care to have put in the moſt emphatical words, and paſt with all the formalities of Law, to make it as effectual as Laws and Promiſes can be: Yet every ſtep that was made in that affair, went againſt the grain, and was extorted from him by the interceſſion of the King and the States, and by the Lord Gallway's zeal. 1696.

In concluſion, the French were grown ſo weary of that War, and found the Charge of it ſo heavy, that they offered not only to reſtore all that had been taken, but to demoliſh Pignerol, and to pay the Duke ſome Millions of Crowns; and to compleat the whole, the Duke of Burgundy ſhould marry his Daughter. To this he conſented: But to cover this Defection from his Allies, it was further agreed, that Catinat ſhould draw his Army together, before the Duke could bring his, to make head againſt him; and that he ſhould be ordered to attempt the Bombardment of Turin, that ſo the Duke might ſeem to be forced, by the extremity of his affairs, to take ſuch conditions as were offered him. He had a mind to have caſt the blame on his Allies; but they had aſſiſted him more effectually

1696. fectually at this time, than on other occaſions: A Truce was firſt made, and that, after a few months, was turned into an entire Peace: One Article whereof was, that the Milaneze ſhould have a neutrality granted them, in caſe the German Forces were ſent out of Italy: All the Italian Princes and States concurred in this, to get rid of the Germans as ſoon as was poſſible; ſo the Duke of Savoy promiſed to join with the French to drive them out. Valence was the firſt place that the Duke of Savoy attacked; there was a good Garriſon in it, and it was better provided than the places of the Spaniards generally were: It was not much preſſed, and the Siege held out ſome weeks, many dying in it. At laſt, the Courts of Vienna and Madrid accepted of the Neutrality, and engaged to draw the Germans out of theſe parts, upon an advance of money, which the Princes of Italy were glad to pay, to be delivered of ſuch troubleſome gueſts.

Thus ended the War in Piedmont after it had laſted ſix years: Pignerol was demoliſhed; but the French, by the Treaty, might build another Fort at Feneſtrella, which is in the middle of the Hills: And it will not be ſo important as Pignerol was, tho' it may prove an uneaſy neighbour to the Duke of Savoy. His Daugther was received in France as Dutcheſs of Burgundy, tho' not yet of the Age of Conſent; for ſhe was but ten years old.

Nothing of conſequence paſſed in Catalonia: The French went no further than Gironne, and the Spaniards gave them no diſturbance: Both the King and Queen of Spain were at this time ſo ill, that, as is uſual upon ſuch occaſions, it was ſuſpected they were both poiſoned: The King of Spain relapſed often, and at laſt remained in that low ſtate of health, in which he ſeemed to be always rather dying than living. The Court of France were glad of his recovery; for they were not then in a condition to undertake ſuch a War,

as

as the Dauphin's Pretenſions muſt have engaged them in. 1696.

In Hungary, the Turks advanced again towards Tranſilvania, where the Duke of Saxony commanded the Imperial Army: The Turks did attack them, and they defended themſelves ſo well, that, tho' they were beat, yet it coſt the Turks ſo dear, that the Grand Signior could undertake nothing afterwards. The Imperialiſts loſt about 5000 men; but the Turks loſt above twice that number; and the Grand Signior went back with an empty triumph, as he did the former year. But another action happened, in a very remote place, which may come to be of a very great conſequence to him. The Muſcovites, after they had been for ſome years under the divided Monarchy of two Brothers, or rather of a Siſter, who governed all in their Name, by the death of one of theſe came now under one Czar: He entered into an Alliance with the Emperor againſt the Turks; and Azuph, which was reckoned a ſtrong place, that commanded the mouth of the Tanais or Donn, where it falls into the Meotis-palus, after a long Siege, was taken by his Army. This opened the Euxine Sea to him; ſo that, if he be furniſhed with men ſkilled in the building and ſailing of Ships, this may have conſequences that may very much diſtreſs Conſtantinople, and be in the end fatal to that Empire. The King of Denmark's Health was now on a decline; upon which the Duke of Holſtein was taking advantage, and new diſputes were like to ariſe there. Affairs in Hungary.

Our affairs at Sea went well, with relation to trade: All our Merchant Fleets came happily home; we made no conſiderable Loſſes; on the contrary, we took many of the French Privateers; they now gained little in that way of War, which in ſome of the former years had been very advantageous to them. Upon the breaking out of the Conſpiracy, Orders were ſent to Cadiz for bring- Affairs at Sea.

1696. ing home our Fleet: The Spaniards murmured at this, tho' it was reaſonable for us to take care of ourſelves in the firſt place. Upon that, the French Fleet was alſo ordered to come about: They met with rough Weather, and were long in the paſſage: So that if we had ſent a Squadron before Breſt, we had probably made ſome conſiderable advantage; but the Fleet was ſo divided, that Faction appeared in every order, and in every motion: Nor did the King ſtudy enough to remedy this, but rather kept it up, and ſeemed to think, that was the way to pleaſe both Parties: But he found afterwards, that by all his management with the Tories, he diſguſted thoſe who were affectionate and zealous for him; and that the Tories had too deep an alienation from him, to be overcome with good uſage: Their ſubmiſſions however to him gained their end, which was to provoke the Whigs to be peeviſh and uneaſy. Our Fleet ſailed towards the Iſle of Rhee, with ſome Bomb Veſſels: Some ſmall Iſlands were burnt and plundered, as St. Martin's was bombarded: The loſs the French made was not conſiderable in itſelf, but it put their affairs in great diſtraction; and the charge they were at in defending their Coaſt, was much greater than ours in attacking it. This was the ſtate of affairs in England, and abroad, during the Summer.

Affairs in Scotland.

Scotland was falling into great miſery, by reaſon of two ſucceſſive bad Harveſts, which exhauſted that Nation, and drove away many of their People; the greateſt number went over to Ireland: A Parliament was held at Edinburgh, and in a very thin Houſe, every thing that was aſked was granted: They were in a miſerable condition, for two ſuch bad years lay extremely heavy on them.

A Treaty of Peace ſet on foot by the French.

This Summer, the French were making ſteps towards a Peace: The Court was very uneaſy under ſo long and ſo deſtructive a War: The Coun-

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try was exhauſted, they had neither men nor money: 1696.
Their Trade was ſunk to nothing, and publick Credit was loſt. The Creation of new Offices, which always was conſidered as a reſource never to be exhauſted, did not work as formerly; few buyers or undertakers appeared. That King's health was thought declining; He affected ſecrecy and retirement, ſo that both the temper of his mind, and the ſtate of his affairs, diſpoſed him to deſire a Peace. One Callieres was ſent to make propoſitions to the States, as D'Avaux was preſſing the King of Sweden to offer his Mediation: The States would hearken to no propoſition, till two Preliminaries were agreed to; the firſt was, that all things ſhould be brought back to the ſtate in which they were put, by the Treaties of Munſter and Nimeguen. This imported not only the reſtoring Mons and Charleroy, but likewiſe Straſburg and Luxemburg, and that, in the ſtate which they were in at preſent: The other Preliminary was, that France ſhould own the King, whenſoever the Peace ſhould be concluded. The Emperor, who deſigned to keep off any Negotiation as much as poſſible, moved that this ſhould be done before the Treaty was opened: But the King thought the other was ſufficient, and would not ſuffer the Peace to be obſtructed by a thing that might ſeem perſonal to himſelf. To all this the Court of France, after ſome delays, conſented: But that ſpirit of Chicane and Injuſtice that had reigned ſo long in that Court, did ſtill appear in every ſtep that was made: For they made uſe of equivocal terms, in every Paper that was offered in their name. The States had felt the effects of theſe in their former Treaties too ſenſibly, not to be now on their guard againſt them: The French ſtill returned to them, and when ſome points ſeemed to be quite ſettled, new difficulties were ſtill thrown in. It was propoſed by the French, that the Popiſh Religion muſt continue ſtill at Straſburg, that the King of France could

1696. not in conſcience yield that point; It was alſo pretended, that Luxembourg was to be reſtored in the ſame ſtate, in which it was when the French took it. Theſe variations did almoſt break off the Negotiation; but the French would not let it fall, and yielded them up again: So it was viſible all this was only an amuſement, and an artifice, by this ſhew of Peace, to get the Parliament of England to declare for it: Since as a trading Nation muſt grow weary of War, ſo the Party they had among us would join in with the inclination, that was now become general, to promote the Peace: For tho' our affairs were in all reſpects, except that of the Coin, in ſo good a condition, that we felt ourſelves grow richer by the War, yet during each Campaign, we ran a greater riſque than our Enemies did: For all our preſervation hung on the ſingle thread of the King's Life, and on that proſpect, the Party that wrought againſt the Government had great hopes, and acted with much ſpirit during the War, which we had reaſon to think muſt ſink with a Peace.

A Seſſion of Parliament in England.

The Parliament met in November; and at the opening of the Seſſion, the King, in his Speech to the two Houſes, acquainted them with the Overtures that were made towards a Peace: But added, that the beſt way to obtain a good one was, to be in a poſture for carrying on the War. The great difficulty was, to find a way to reſtore Credit: There was a great Arrear due; all Funds had proved deficient; and the total failing of the Land Bank had brought a great confuſion on all payments: The Arrears were put upon the Funds of the Revenue, which had been granted for a term of but five years, and that was now ending; ſo a new continuance of thoſe Revenues was granted; and they were put under the management of the Bank of England, which upon that ſecurity, undertook the payment of them all. It was long before all this was fully ſettled: The Bank was not willing

willing to engage in it; yet at last it was agreed: And the Bank quickly recovered its Credit so entirely, that there was no discount upon the Notes. The Arrear amounted to ten Millions: And five Millions more were to be raised for the Charge of the following year. So that one Session was to secure fifteen Millions, a Sum never before thought possible to be provided for, in any one Session. There was not Specie enough, for giving that quick circulation which is necessary for Trade; so to remedy that, the Treasury was empowered to give out Notes, to the value of almost three Millions, which were to circulate as a Species of Money, and to be received in Taxes, and were to sink gradually, as the money should arise out of the Fund that was created to answer them; by these methods, all the demands, both for Arrears and for the following year, were answered. The Commons sent a Bill to the Lords, limiting Elections to future Parliaments, that none should be chosen, but those who had such a proportion of Estate or Money: The Lords rejected it: They thought it reasonable to leave the Nation to their freedom, in chooſing their Representatives in Parliament. It seemed both unjust and cruel, that if a poor man had so fair a Reputation, as to be chosen, notwithstanding his Poverty, by those who were willing to pay him Wages, that he should be branded with an Incapacity, because of his small estate. Corruption in Elections was to be apprehended from the rich, rather than from the poor. Another Bill was sent up by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, prohibiting the Importation of all East-India Silks, and Bengals: This was proposed, to encourage the Silk Manufacture at home; and Petitions were brought for it by great multitudes, in a very tumultuary way: But the Lords had no regard to that. 1696.

The great business of this Session, that held longest in both Houses, was a Bill relating to Sir John Fenwick's Business.

1696. John Fenwick: The thing was of ſo particular a nature, that it deſerves to be related in a ſpecial manner; and the great ſhare that I bore in the Debate, when it was in the Houſe of Lords, makes it more neceſſary for me copiouſly to enlarge upon it: For it may at firſt view ſeem very liable to exception, that a man of my Profeſſion ſhould enter ſo far into a Debate of that nature. Fenwick, when he was firſt taken, writ a Letter to his Lady, ſetting forth his Misfortunes, and giving himſelf for dead, unleſs powerful applications could be made for him, or that ſome of the Jury could be hired to ſtarve out the reſt; and to that he added, "This or nothing can ſave my Life." This Letter was taken from the perſon to whom he had given it: At his firſt Examination, before the Lords Juſtices, he denied every thing, till he was ſhewed this Letter; and then he was confounded. In his private Treaty with the Duke of Devonſhire, he deſired an aſſurance of Life, upon his promiſe to tell all he knew: But the King refuſed that, and would have it left to himſelf to judge of the truth, and the importance of the diſcoveries he ſhould make. So he reſolving to caſt himſelf on the King's Mercy, ſent him a Paper, in which, after a bare account of the Conſultations among the Jacobites (in which he took care to charge none of his own Party) he ſaid, that King James, and thoſe who were employed by him, had aſſured them, that both the Earls of Shrewſbury and Marlborough, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Ruſſel, were reconciled to him, and were now in his Intereſts, and acting for him. This was a Diſcovery that could ſignify nothing, but to give the King a jealouſy of thoſe perſons; for he did not offer the leaſt ſhadow or circumſtance, either of proof or of preſumption, to ſupport this accuſation. The King, not being ſatisfied herewith, ſent an Order for bringing him to a Trial, unleſs he made fuller Diſcoveries: He deſired to be further examined by the Lords Juſti-

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ces, to whom he, being upon Oath, told ſome more Particulars; but he took care to name none of his own ſide, but thoſe againſt whom Evidence was already brought, or who were ſafe and beyond Sea; ſome few others he named, who were in matters of leſs Conſequence, that did not amount to High Treaſon; he owned a thread of Negotiations, that had paſſed between them and King James, or the Court of France; he ſaid, the Earl of Ailesbury had gone over to France, and had been admitted to a private Audience of the French King, where he had propoſed the ſending over an Army of 30000 Men, and had undertaken that a great Body of Gentlemen and Horſes ſhould be brought to join them: It appeared by his Diſcoveries, that the Jacobites in England were much divided: Some were called Compounders, and others Non-compounders. The firſt ſort deſired Securities from King James, for the preſervation of the Religion and Liberties of England; whereas, the ſecond ſort were for truſting him upon diſcretion, without aſking any terms, putting all in his power, and relying entirely on his honour and generoſity. Theſe ſeemed indeed to act more ſuitably to the great Principle, upon which they all inſiſted, that Kings have their Power from God, and are accountable only to him for the exerciſe of it. Dr. Lloyd, the deprived Biſhop of Norwich, was the only eminent Clergyman that went into this: And therefore, all that Party had, upon Sancroft's Death, recommended him to King James, to have his nomination for Canterbury. 1696.

Fenwick put all this in writing, upon aſſurance, that he ſhould not be forced to witneſs any part of it. When that was ſent to the King, all appearing to be ſo trifling, and no other proof being offered, for any part of it, except his own word, which he had ſtipulated, ſhould not be made uſe of, his Majeſty ſent an Order to bring him to his Trial. Many delays.

1696. Trial. But as the King was ſlow in ſending this Order, ſo the Duke of Devonſhire, who had been in the ſecret Management of the matter, was for ſome time in the Country: The Lords Juſtices delayed the matter, till he came to Town: And then the King's coming was ſo near, that it was reſpited till he came over. By theſe delays, Fenwick gained his main deſign in them, which was to practiſe upon the Witneſſes.

Practices upon Witneſſes.

His Lady began with Porter; he was offered, that if he would go beyond Sea, he ſhould have a good Sum in hand, and an Annuity ſecured to him for his Life; he hearkned ſo far to the propoſition, that he drew thoſe, who were in Treaty with him, together with the Lady herſelf, who carried the Sum that he was to receive, to a meeting, where he had provided Witneſſes, who ſhould over-hear all that paſſed, and ſhould, upon a Signal, come in, and ſeize them with the money; which was done, and a proſecution upon it was ordered. The practice was fully proved, and the perſons concerned in it were cenſured, and puniſhed: So Porter was no more to be dealt with. Goodman was the other Witneſs; firſt they gathered matter to defame him, in which his wicked courſe of Life furniſhed them very copiouſly; but they truſted not to this method, and betook themſelves to another, in which they prevailed more effectually; they perſuaded him to go out of England: And by this means, when the laſt Orders were given for Fenwick's Trial, there were not two Witneſſes againſt him; ſo by the courſe of Law, he muſt have been acquitted: The whole was upon this kept entire for the Seſſion of Parliament. The King ſent to the Houſe of Commons the two Papers that Fenwick had ſent him. Fenwick was brought before the Houſe: But he refuſed to give any farther account of the matter contained in them; ſo they rejected them as falſe and ſcandalous, made only to create jealouſies: And they

ordered a Bill of Attainder to be brought againſt Fenwick; which met with great oppoſition in both Houſes, in every ſtep that was made. The Debates were the hotteſt, and held the longeſt, of any that ever I knew. The Lords took a very extraordinary method to force all their abſent Members to come up; they ſent Meſſengers for them to bring them up, which ſeemed to be a great Breach on their Dignity; for the Privilege of making a Proxy was an undoubted Right belonging to their Peerage; but thoſe, who intended to throw out the Bill, reſolved to have a full Houſe. The Bill ſet forth the Artifices, Fenwick had uſed to gain delays; and the practice upon Porter, and Goodman's eſcape; the laſt having ſworn Treaſon againſt him at Cook's Trial, and likewiſe to the Grand Jury, who had found the Bill againſt him upon that Evidence. So now Porter appearing, and giving his Evidence againſt him, and the Evidence that Goodman had given, being proved, it was inferred, that he was guilty of High Treaſon, and that therefore he ought to be Attainted. 1696. A Bill of Attainder againſt Fenwick.

The ſubſtance of the Arguments brought againſt this way of proceeding, was, that the Law was all Mens Security, as well as it ought to be their Rule: If this was once broke thro', no Man was ſafe: Men would be preſumed guilty without legal proofs, and be run down, and deſtroyed by a torrent: Two Witneſſes ſeemed neceſſary, by an indiſputable Law of Juſtice, to prove a Man guilty: The Law of God given to Moſes, as well as the Law of England, made this neceſſary: And, beſides all former ones, the Law lately made for Trials in Caſes of Treaſon, was ſuch a ſacred one, that it was to be hoped, that even a Parliament would not make a Breach upon it. A written Depoſition was no Evidence, becauſe the Perſon accuſed could not have the benefit of croſs interrogating the Witneſs, by which much falſe ſwearing was often detected: Nor could the Evidence given in one Trial Reaſons againſt it.

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1696. be brought againſt a Man, who was not a party in that Trial: The Evidence that was offered to a Grand Jury, was to be examined all over again at the Trial; till that was done, it was not Evidence. It did not appear, that Fenwick himſelf was concerned in the practice upon Porter; what his Lady did, could not be charged on him: No Evidence was brought, that Goodman was practis'd on; ſo his withdrawing himſelf could not be charged on Fenwick. Some very black things were proved againſt Goodman, which would be ſtrong to ſet aſide his Teſtimony, tho' he were preſent; and that proof, which had been brought in Cook's Trial, againſt Porter's Evidence, was again made uſe of, to prove that as he was the ſingle Witneſs, ſo he was a doubtful and ſuſpected one: Nor was it proper, that a Bill of this nature ſhould begin in the Houſe of Commons, which could not take Examinations upon Oath. This was the ſubſtance of the Arguments, that were urged againſt the Bill.

1697. Reaſons for the Bill.

On the other hand, it was ſaid, in behalf of the Bill, that the nature of Government required, that the Legiſlature ſhould be recurred to, in extraordinary Caſes, for which effectual Proviſion could not be made by fixed and ſtanding Laws: Our Common Law grew up out of the Proceedings of the Courts of Law: Afterwards, This in caſes of Treaſon was thought too looſe, ſo the Law in this point was limited, firſt by the famous Statute in King Edward the Third's time, and then by the Statute in King Edward the Sixth's time; the two Witneſſes were to be brought face to face with the perſon accuſed: And that the Law, lately made, had brought the method of Trials to a yet further certainty; yet in that, as well as in the Statute of Edward III. Parliamentary Proceedings were ſtill excepted; and indeed, tho' no ſuch proviſion had been expreſly made in the Acts themſelves, the nature of Government puts always an exception, in

favour of the Legiſlative Authority. The Legiſla- 1697.
ture was indeed bound to obſerve Juſtice and
Equity, as much, if not more, than the inferior
Courts; becauſe the Supreme Court ought to ſet
an Example to all others: But they might ſee
cauſe to paſs over Forms, as occaſion ſhould re-
quire; this was the more reaſonable among us, be-
cauſe there was no Nation in the World beſides
England, that had not recourſe to Torture, when
the Evidence was probable but defective: That
was a mighty reſtraint, and ſtruck a terror into all
People; and the freeſt Governments, both antient
and modern, thought they could not ſubſiſt with-
out it. At preſent, the Venetians have their Ci-
vil Inquiſitors, and the Griſons have their High
Courts of Juſtice, which act without the Forms of
Law, by the abſolute Truſt that is repoſed in
them, ſuch as the Romans repoſed in Dictators,
in the time of their Liberty. England had nei-
ther Torture, nor any unlimited Magiſtrate in its
Conſtitution; and therefore, upon great Emergen-
cies, recourſe muſt be had to the Supreme Legi-
ſlature. Forms are neceſſary in ſubordinate Courts;
but there is no reaſon to tie up the Supreme One
by them: This method of Attainder, had been
practiſed among us at all times; it is true, what
was done in this way at one time, was often re-
verſed at another; but that was the effect of the
violence of the Times; and was occaſioned often
by the injuſtice of thoſe Attainders: The Judg-
ments of the inferior Courts were upon the like ac-
count often reverſed; but when Parliamentary At-
tainders went upon good grounds, tho' without
obſerving the Forms of Law, they were never
blamed, not to ſay condemned. When poiſoning
was firſt practiſed in England, and put in a pot of
Porridge in the Biſhop of Rocheſter's Houſe, this,
which was only Felony, was by a ſpecial Law made
to be High Treaſon; and a new Puniſhment was
appointed by Act of Parliament: The Poiſoner
was

1697. was boiled alive. When the Nun of Kent pretended to Viſions, to oppoſe King Henry the Eighth's Divorce, and his ſecond Marriage; and ſaid, if he married again, he ſhould not live long after it, but ſhould die a Villain's death; this was judged in Parliament to be High Treaſon; and ſhe and her Accomplices ſuffered accordingly. After that, there paſſed many Attainders in that Reign, only upon Depoſitions, that were read in both Houſes of Parliament: It is true, theſe were much blamed, and there was great cauſe for it; there were too many of them; for this extream way of proceeding is to be put in practice but ſeldom, and upon great occaſions; whereas, many of theſe went upon ſlight grounds, ſuch as the uttering ſome paſſionate and indecent Words, or the uſing ſome Embroidery in Garments and Coats of Arms, with an ill intent. But that, which was indeed execrable, was, that perſons in Priſon were attainted, without being heard in their own defence; this was ſo contrary to natural Juſtice, that it could not be enough condemned. In King Edward the Sixth's time, the Lord Seimour was attainted in the ſame manner, only with this difference, that the Witneſſes were brought to the Bar, and there examined; whereas, formerly, they proceeded upon ſome Depoſitions, that were read to them: At the Duke of Somerſet's Trial, which was both for High Treaſon and for Felony, in which he was acquitted of the former, but found guilty of the latter, Depoſitions were only read againſt him; but the Witneſſes were not brought face to face, as he preſſed they might be: Upon which it was, that the following Parliament enacted, that the Accuſers (that is the Witneſſes) ſhould be examined face to face, if they were alive. In Queen Elizabeth's time, the Parliament went out of the method of Law, in all the ſteps of their Proceedings againſt the Queen of Scots: It is true, there were no Parliamentary Attainders in England,

land, during that long and glorious Reign, upon which, thoſe who oppoſed the Bill, inſiſted much; yet that was only, becauſe there then was no occaſion here in England for any ſuch Bill: But in Ireland, where ſome things were notoriouſly true, which yet could not be legally proved, that Government was forced to have, on many different occaſions, recourſe to this method. In King James the Firſt's time, thoſe who were concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, and choſe to be killed, rather than taken, were by Act of Parliament, attainted after their death; which the Courts of Law could not do, ſince by our Law, a Man's Crimes die with himſelf; for this reaſon, becauſe he cannot make his own Defence, nor can his Children do it for him. The famous Attainder of the Earl of Strafford, in King Charles the Firſt's time, has been much and juſtly cenſured; not ſo much, becauſe it paſt by Bill, as becauſe of the Injuſtice of it: He was accuſed, for having ſaid, upon the Houſe of Commons refuſing to grant the Subſidies, the King had aſked, "That the King was "abſolved from all the Rules of Government, "and might make uſe of force to ſubdue this "Kingdom." Theſe words were proved only by one Witneſs, all the reſt of the Council, who were preſent, depoſing, that they remembred no ſuch Words, and were poſitive, that the Debate ran only upon the War with Scotland; ſo that tho' "this Kingdom," ſingly taken, muſt be meant of England, yet it might well be meant of "that Kingdom," which was the Subject then of the Debate; ſince then the words were capable of that favourable ſenſe, and that both he who ſpoke them, and they who heard them, affirmed that they were meant and underſtood in that ſenſe, it was a moſt pernicious Precedent, firſt to take them in the moſt odious ſenſe poſſible, and then to deſtroy him who ſaid them, upon the teſtimony of one ſingle exceptionable Witneſs; whereas, if, upon the 1697.

1697. Commons refuſing to grant the King's demand, he had plainly adviſed the King to ſubdue his people by force, it is hard to tell, what the Parliament might not juſtly have done, or would not do again in the like caſe. In King Charles the Second's time, ſome of the moſt eminent of the Regicides were attainted, after they were dead; and in King James's time, the Duke of Monmouth was attainted by Bill: Theſe laſt Attainders had their firſt beginning in the Houſe of Commons. Thus it appeared, that theſe laſt two hundred years, not to mention much ancienter Precedents, the Nation had upon extraordinary occaſions proceeded in this Parliamentary way by Bill. There were already many Precedents of this method: and whereas it was ſaid, that an ill Parliament might carry theſe too far; it is certain, the Nation, and every Perſon in it, muſt be ſafe, when they are in their own hands, or in thoſe of a Repreſentative choſen by themſelves: As on the other hand, if that be ill choſen, there is no help for it; the Nation muſt periſh, for it is by their own fault; they have already too many Precedents for this way of proceeding, if they intend to make an ill uſe of them: But a Precedent is only a ground or warrant for the like proceeding, upon the like occaſion.

The grounds upon which ſuch a Bill was neceſſary and juſt.

Two Rules were laid down for all Bills of this nature: Firſt, that the Matter be of a very extraordinary nature: Leſſer Crimes had better be paſſed over, than puniſhed by the Legiſlature. Of all the Crimes, that can be contrived againſt the Nation, certainly the moſt heinous one is, that of bringing in a Foreign Force to conquer us: This ruins both Us, and our Poſterity for ever: Diſtractions at home, how fatal ſoever, even tho' they ſhould end ever ſo tragically, as ours once did in the Murder of the King, and in a Military Uſurpation, yet were capable of a Criſis and a Cure. In the Year 1660, we came again to our wits, and all

was

was ſet right again; whereas, there is no proſpect after a Foreign Conqueſt, but of Slavery and Miſery: And how black ſoever the aſſaſſinating the King muſt needs appear, yet a Foreign Conqueſt was worſe, it was aſſaſſinating the Kingdom: And therefore the inviting and contriving that, muſt be the blackeſt of Crimes. But, as the importance of the matter ought to be equal to ſuch an unuſual way of proceeding, ſo the certainty of the Facts ought to be ſuch, that if the defects in Legal Proof, are to be ſupplied, yet this ought to be done upon ſuch grounds, as make the Fact charged appear ſo evidently true, that tho' a Court of Law could not proceed upon it, yet no Man could raiſe in himſelf a doubt concerning it. Antiently, Treaſon was judged, as Felony ſtill is, upon ſuch preſumptions, as ſatisfied the Jury: The Law has now limited this to two Witneſſes brought face to face; but the Parliament may ſtill take that liberty, which is denied to Inferior Courts, of judging this matter, as an ordinary Jury does in a caſe of Felony. In the preſent caſe, there was one Witneſs, viva voce, upon whoſe Teſtimony ſeveral Perſons had been condemned, and had ſuffered; and theſe neither at their Trial, nor at their Death, diſproved or denied any circumſtance of his Depoſitions. If he had been too much a Libertine in the courſe of his Life, that did not deſtroy his credit as a Witneſs: In the firſt Trial, this might have made him a doubtful Witneſs; but what had happened ſince, had deſtroyed the poſſibility even of ſuſpecting his Evidence; a Party had been in intereſt concerned to enquire into his whole Life, and in the preſent caſe had full time for it; and every circumſtance of his Depoſition had been examined; and yet nothing was diſcovered that could ſo much as create a doubt; all was ſtill untouched, ſound and true. The only circumſtance in which the dying Speeches of thoſe who ſuffer'd on his Evidence, ſeemed to contradict him, was con- 1697.

1697. cerning King James's Commiſſion: Yet none of them denied really what Porter had depoſed, which was, that Charnock told him, that there was a Commiſſion, come from King James, for attacking the Prince of Orange's Guards: They only denied, that there was a Commiſſion for aſſaſſinating him. Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, were condemned for the Conſultation now given in Evidence againſt Fenwick: They died, not denying it; on the contrary, they juſtified all they had done: It could not be ſuppoſed, that, if there had been a tittle in the Evidence that was falſe, they ſhould both have been ſo far wanting to themſelves, and to their friends, who were to be tried upon the ſame Evidence, as not to have declared it in the ſolemneſt manner: Theſe things were more undeniably certain, than the Evidence of ten Witneſſes could poſſibly be. Witneſſes might conſpire to ſwear a falſhood; but in this caſe, the Circumſtances took away the poſſibility of a doubt. And therefore, the Parliament, without taking any notice of Goodman's Evidence, might well judge Fenwick guilty, for no Man could doubt of it in his own mind.

The ancient Romans were very jealous of their Liberty; but how exact ſoever they might be in ordinary Caſes, yet when any of their Citizens ſeemed to have a Deſign of making himſelf King, they either created a Dictator to ſuppreſs or deſtroy him, or elſe the People proceeded againſt him in a ſummary way. By the Portian Law, no Citizen could be put to Death for any Crime whatſoever; yet ſuch regard did the Romans pay to Juſtice, even above Law, that, when the Campanian Legion had perfidiouſly broke in upon Rhegium, and pillaged it, they put them all to Death for it. In the famous caſe of Catiline's Conſpiracy, as the Evidence was clear, and the Danger extream; the Accomplices in it were executed, notwithſtanding the Portian Law: And this was

done by the Order of the Senate, without either hearing them make their own Defence, or admitting them to claim the Right, which the Valerian Law gave them, of an Appeal to the People. Yet that whole Proceeding was chiefly directed by the two greateſt Aſſerters of Publick Liberty that ever lived, Cato and Cicero; and Cæſar, who oppoſed it, on pretence of its being againſt the Portian Law, was for that reaſon ſuſpected of being in the Conſpiracy: It appeared afterwards, how little regard he had, either to Law or Liberty, though, upon this occaſion, he made uſe of the one, to protect thoſe, who were in a Plot againſt the other. This Expreſſion was much reſented by thoſe, who were againſt this Bill, as carrying a bitter reflection upon them, for oppoſing it. 1697.

In concluſion, the Bill paſſed, by a ſmall Majority, of only ſeven in the Houſe of Lords; the Royal Aſſent was ſoon given to it. Fenwick then made all poſſible applications to the King for a Reprieve; and as a main ground for that, and as an article of merit, related how he had ſaved the King's Life, two years before, as was already told in the beginning of the Year 1695. But as this Fact could not be proved, ſo it could confer no obligation on the King, ſince he had given him no warning of his danger; and according to his own ſtory, had truſted the Conſpirators words very eaſily, when they promiſed to purſue their deſign no farther, which he had no reaſon to do. So that this pretenſion was not much conſidered; but he was preſt to make a full Diſcovery; and for ſome days, he ſeemed to be in ſome ſuſpence, what courſe to take. He deſired to be ſecured, that nothing which he confeſt, ſhould turn to his own prejudice. The Houſe of Lords ſent an Addreſs to the King, intreating, that they might be at liberty to make him this Promiſe; and that was readily granted. He then farther deſired, that, upon his making a full Confeſſion, he might be aſſured of a The Bill paſſed.

1697. Pardon, without being obliged to become a Witneſs againſt any other Perſon: To this, the Lords anſwered, that he had to do with Men of Honour, and that he muſt truſt to their Diſcretion; that they would mediate for him with the King, in proportion as they ſhould find his Diſcoveries ſincere and important: His behaviour to the King hitherto, had not been ſuch, as to induce the Lords to truſt to his Candour, it was much more reaſonable, that he ſhould truſt to them. Upon this, all hopes of any Diſcoveries from him were laid aſide. But a matter of another nature broke out, which, but for its ſingular Circumſtances, ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned.

Practices againſt the Duke of Shrewsbury.

There was one Smith, a Nephew of Sir William Perkins, who had for ſome time been in Treaty at the Duke of Shrewſbury's Office, pretending that he could make great Diſcoveries, and that he knew all the motions and deſigns of the Jacobites: He ſent many dark and ambiguous Letters to that Duke's Under Secretary, which were more properly to be called Amuſements than Diſcoveries; for he only gave hints and ſcraps of Stories; but he had got a promiſe not to be made a Witneſs, and yet he never offered any other Witneſs, nor told where any of thoſe, he informed againſt, were lodged, or how they might be taken. He was always aſking more Money, and bragging what he could do, if he were well ſupplied, and he ſeemed to think he never had enough. Indeed, before the Conſpiracy broke out, he had given ſuch hints, that when it was diſcovered, it appeared, he muſt have known much more of it, than he thought fit to tell. One Letter he wrote, two days before it was intended to have been put in Execution, ſhewed, he muſt have been let into the Secret very far (if this was not an artifice to lay the Court more aſleep) for he ſaid, That as things ripened and came near execution, he ſhould certainly know them better: It was not improbable, that he

he himſelf was one of the five, whom Perkins undertook to furniſh, for aſſiſting in the Aſſaſſination; and that he hoped to have ſaved himſelf by this pretended Diſcovery, in caſe the Plot miſcarried. The Duke of Shrewſbury acquainted the King with his Diſcoveries, but nothing could then be made either of them or of him. When the whole Plot was unravelled, it then was manifeſt from his Letters, that he muſt have known more of it, than he would own: But he ſtill claimed the Promiſe before made him, that he ſhould not be a Witneſs. Upon the whole therefore, he rather deſerved a ſevere Puniſhment, than any of thoſe Rewards, which he pretended to. He was accordingly diſmiſt by the Duke of Shrewsbury, who thought that even this ſuſpicious Behaviour of his did not releaſe him from keeping the Promiſes he had made him. Smith, thereupon, went to the Earl of Monmouth and poſſeſt him with bad impreſſions of the Duke of Shrewſbury, and found him much inclined to entertain them; he told him, that he had made great Diſcoveries, of which that Duke would take no notice; and becauſe the Duke's ill Health had obliged him to go into the Country, two days before the Aſſaſſination was intended; he put this conſtruction upon it, that he was willing to be out of the way, when the King was to be murthered. To fix this imputation, he ſhewed him the Copies of all his Letters, all of which, but the laſt more eſpecially, had the face of a great Diſcovery. The Lord Monmouth carried this to Court, and it made ſuch an impreſſion there, that the Earl of Portland ſent Smith Money, and entertained him as a Spy, but never could by his means learn any one real piece of Intelligence. When this happened, the King was juſt going beyond Sea; ſo Smith's Letters were taken, and ſealed up by the King's Order, and left in the hands of Sir William Trumball, who was the other Secretary of State. 1697.

1697. This matter lay quiet, till Fenwick began to make Diſcoveries: And when Lord Monmouth underſtood, that he had not named himſelf (about which he expreſt too vehement a concern) but that he had named Lord Shrewſbury, it was ſaid, that he entred into a Negotiation with the Dutcheſs of Norfolk, that ſhe ſhould, by Fenwick's Lady, encourage him to perſiſt in his Diſcoveries: And that he dictated ſome Papers to the Dutcheſs, that ſhould be offered to him as an additional one; in which many little ſtories were related which had been told the King, and might be believed by him; and by theſe, the King might have been diſpoſed to believe the reſt of Fenwick's Paper: And the whole ended in ſome Diſcoveries concerning Smith, which would naturally occaſion his Letters to be called for, and then they would probably have had great effect. The Dutcheſs of Norfolk declared, that he had dictated all theſe Schemes of his to her, who copied them, and handed them to Fenwick; and that he had left one Paper with her; it was ſhort, but contained an Abſtract of the whole deſign, and referred to a larger one, which he had only dictated to her. The Dutcheſs ſaid, ſhe had placed a Gentlewoman, who carried her Meſſages to Fenwick's Lady, to over-hear all that paſt: So that ſhe both had another Witneſs to ſupport the Truth of what ſhe related, and a Paper left by him with her. She ſaid, that Fenwick would not be guided by him; and ſaid, he would not meddle with contrived Diſcoveries: That thereupon this Lord was highly provoked: He ſaid, if Fenwick would follow his Advice, he would certainly ſave him; but if he would not, he would get the Bill to paſs. And indeed, when that matter was depending, he ſpoke two full hours in the Houſe of Lords, in favour of the Bill, with a peculiar vehemence. Fenwick's Lady being much provoked at this, got her Nephew the Earl of Carliſle, to move the Lords, that Fenwick might

be

be examined, concerning any Advices that had been ſent him, with relation to his Diſcoveries: And upon this, Fenwick told what his Lady had brought him, and thereupon the Dutcheſs of Norfolk and her Confident were likewiſe interrogated, and gave the account which I have related: In concluſion, Smith's Letters were read, and he himſelf was examined. This held the Lords ſeveral days: For the Earl of Portland, by the King's Orders, produced all Smith's Papers. By them it appeared, that he was a very inſignificant Spy, who was always inſiſting in his old ſtrain of aſking Money, and taking no care to deſerve it. The Earl of Monmouth was, upon the Accuſation and Evidence above-mentioned, ſent to the Tower, and turned out of all his Employments. But the Court had no mind to have the matter farther examined into; for the King ſpoke to myſelf to do all I could to ſoften his Cenſure, which he afterwards acknowledged I had done. I did not know what new ſcheme of Confuſion might have been opened by him in his own excuſe. The Houſe of Lords was much ſet againſt him, and ſeemed reſolved to go great Lengths. To allay that heat, I put them in mind, that he ſet the Revolution firſt on foot, and was a great promoter of it, coming twice over to Holland to that end: I then moved, that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower: This was agreed to, and he lay there till the end of the Seſſion, and was removed from all his Places: But that loſs, as was believed, was ſecretly made up to him, for the Court was reſolved not to loſe him quite. 1697.

Fenwick's Execution.

Fenwick ſeeing no hope was left, prepared himſelf to die: He deſired the aſſiſtance of one of the deprived Biſhops, which was not eaſily granted: But in that, and in ſeveral other matters, I did him ſuch ſervice, that he wrote me a Letter of thanks upon it. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, and died very compoſed, in a much better temper, than

was

1697. was to be expected; for his Life had been very irregular. At the place of his Execution, he delivered a Paper in writing, wherein he did not deny the Facts * that had been ſworn againſt him, but complained of the Injuſtice of the Procedure, and left his Thanks to thoſe who had voted againſt the Bill. He owned his Loyalty to King James, and to the Prince of Wales after him; but mentioned the Deſign of aſſaſſinating King William, in terms full of horror. The Paper was ſuppoſed to

* A late voluminous Writer, who ſeems to miſtake an old News-paper for a Hiſtory, a great lover of Liberty and Truth, as he is pleaſed to call himſelf in his Title Page, has thought fit to charge the Biſhop with a ſolemn Lye upon this occaſion, for ſaying that Fenwick, in the Paper he delivered to the Sheriffs, did not deny the Facts, ſworn againſt him. Upon this he tells you the Paper is extant, but does not tell you where; nor upon what Authority he avers that to be the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs, which any Reader would expect from a Writer even of the higheſt Character, who fifty years after a Fact, took upon him to contradict another Writer, as to that Fact, which happened at the time when he wrote. But to convince the World that this Hiſtorian (as he is pleaſed to ſtile himſelf) has as little Common Senſe as he has Decency, he has publiſhed ſuch a Paper, as, if it is authentick, abſolutely confirms the Biſhop's aſſertion. For the Charge on Fenwick is, the being preſent at a meeting, and there concurring to an Invitation of King James to invade this Nation. What is his denial? "I call God to witneſs, I "went not to that meeting in Leaden-Hall Street, with any "ſuch Intention as to invite King James by force to invade this "Nation; nor was I myſelf provided with either Horſe or Arms, "or engaged for any number of men, or gave particular Con-"ſent to any ſuch Invaſion, as is moſt falſly ſworn againſt me." Now who is it, that upon reading this, does not diſcern that here is a denial of ſome Circumſtances ſworn againſt him, but no denial of any one Fact. For whether he went to the meeting with an Intention to invite King James or not, or to invite him to invade this Nation by force or only by a few from abroad, who might truſt to a greater Strength at home; yet here is no Denial, that he was at the meeting, where it was agreed to invite King James to invade this Nation: Nor is there any Denial, that he conſented to this Invitation, but only that he gave no particular Conſent for any ſuch Invaſion; which rather implies, that he did give a general Conſent to an Invaſion by force. This Specimen of this Writer's Judgment, Decency and Veracity, will be ſufficient to excuſe me from taking any farther pains to confute his many attacks upon this Hiſtory.

have

have been drawn by Biſhop White, and the Jacobites were much provoked with the Paragraph laſt mentioned. This was the concluſion of that unacceptable affair, in which I had a much larger ſhare than might ſeem to become a man of my Profeſſion. But the Houſe of Lords, by ſevere Votes, obliged all the Peers to be preſent, and to give their Votes in the matter. Since I was therefore convinced, that he was guilty of the Crime laid to his charge, and that ſuch a method of proceeding was not only lawful, but in ſome caſes neceſſary; and ſince, by the ſearch I made into Attainders and Parliamentary Proceedings, when I wrote the Hiſtory of the Reformation, I had ſeen further into thoſe matters, than otherwiſe I ſhould ever have done; I thought it was incumbent on me, when my opinion determined me to the ſeverer ſide, to offer what Reaſons occurred to me, in Juſtification of my Vote. But this did not exempt me from falling under a great load of Cenſure upon this occaſion. 1697.

Affairs in Flanders.

As ſoon as the Buſineſs of the Seſſion of Parliament was at an end, the King went beyond Sea: The Summer paſſed over very quietly in England, for the Jacobites were now humble and ſilent. The French were reſolved to have Peace at any rate, by the end of the year: They therefore ſtudied to puſh matters as far as poſſible, during this Campaign, that they might obtain the better terms, and that their King might ſtill, to outward appearance, maintain a Superiority in the Field, as if nothing could ſtand before him, and from thence might indulge his vanity in boaſting, that, notwithſtanding all his Succeſſes, he was willing to ſacrifice his own advantages to the quiet of Europe. The Campaign was opened with the Siege of Aeth: The Place was ill furniſhed, and the bad ſtate, both of our Coin and Credit, ſet the King's Preparations ſo far back, that he could not come in time to relieve it. From thence, the French were advancing

1697. advancing towards Bruſſels, on deſign, either to take or bombard it. But the King, by a very happy diligence preventing them, poſſeſt himſelf of an advantageous Camp, about three hours before the French could reach it; by which they were wholly incapacitated to execute their Deſign. After this, there was no more Action in Flanders all the Summer; the reſt of the time was ſpent in Negotiation.

Barcelona taken by the French.

The French were more ſucceſsful in Catalonia: They ſent an Army againſt Barcelona, commanded by the Duke of Vendome, and their Fleet came to his aſſiſtance: The Garriſon was under the Command of a Prince of Heſſe, who had ſerved in the King's Army, and, upon changing his Religion, was now at the head of the German Troops that were ſent into Spain. The Viceroy (whether by a Fate common to all the Spaniards, or from a jealouſy, that the whole Honour would accrue to a Stranger, if the Place ſhould hold out) ſo entirely neglected to do his part, that he was ſurprized, and his ſmall Army was routed. The Town was large and ill fortified, yet it held out two Months after the Trenches were opened; ſo that time was given to the Spaniards, ſufficient to have brought Relief from the furtheſt corner of Spain. Nothing had happened, during the whole courſe of the War, that did more evidently demonſtrate the feebleneſs into which that Monarchy was fallen; for no Relief was ſent to Barcelona, ſo that they were forced to capitulate. By this, the French gained a great point: Hitherto the Spaniards, who contributed the leaſt towards carrying on the War, were the moſt backward to all Overtures of Peace: They had felt little of the Miſeries of War, and thought themſelves out of its reach: But now France being Maſter of ſo important a Place, which cut off all their Communication with Italy, they became as earneſt for Peace, as they had hitherto been averſe from it.

Nor

Nor was this all their Danger: A Squadron had been ſent, at the ſame time, to ſeize on the Plate Fleet in the Weſt-Indies: The King ordered a Squadron, which he had lying at Cadiz, to ſail after them, and aſſiſt the Spaniards. The French finding, that the Galleons were already got to the Havana, where they could not attack them, ſailed to Carthagena, which was in no condition to reſiſt them. The Plate had all been ſent away, before they came thither; but they landed and pillaged the Place, and then gave it out, that they had found many Millions there, which at firſt ſeemed incredible, and was afterwards known to be falſe: Yet it was confidently aſſerted at that time, to cover the reproach of having miſcarried in the attempt, on which they had raiſed great expectations, and to which many Undertakers had been drawn in. Our Squadron was much ſuperior to theirs, yet never engaged them: Once indeed, they came up to the French, and had ſome Advantage over them; but did not purſue it. The French ſailed to the North, towards Newfoundland, where we had another Squadron lying, which was ſent with ſome Land Forces to recover Hudſon's Bay: Theſe Ships might have fallen upon the French, and would probably have maſter'd them: But as they had no certain account of their ſtrength, ſo being ſent out upon another Service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them: So the French got ſafe home, and the Conduct of our affairs at Sea was much cenſured: Yet our Admiralty declared themſelves ſatisfied with the account the Commanders gave of their Proceedings. But that Board was accuſed of much partiality: On all ſuch occaſions, the unfortunate muſt expect to be blamed; and, to outward appearance, there was much room given, either to cenſure the Orders, or the execution of them. The King owned, he did not underſtand thoſe matters: And Ruſſel, now made Earl of Orford, had both the Admi-

1697. A French Squadron in the Weſt-Indies.

ralty

1697. ralty and the Navy Board, in a great dependence on himself; so that he was considered almost as much, as if he had been Lord High Admiral. He was too much in the power of those, in whom he confided, and trusted them too far: And it was generally believed, that there was much Corruption, as it was certain there was much Faction, if not Treachery, in the conduct of our Marine. Our Miscarriages made all people cry, that we must have a Peace, for we could not manage the War to any good purpose; since, notwithstanding our great superiority at Sea, the French conducted their matters so much better than us, that we were losers, even in that Element, where we used to triumph most. Our Squadron, in the Bay of Mexico, did very little service; they only robbed and destroyed some of the French Colonies; and that sent to Hudson's Bay, found it quite abandoned by the French; so that both returned home inglorious.

The King of Poland's Death.

A great change of affairs happened this year in Poland: Their King, John Sobieski, after he had long outlived the Fame he had got by raising the Siege of Vienna, died at last under a general contempt. He was going backwards and forwards, as his Queen's Negotiations in the Court of France were entertained or rejected: His Government was so feeble and disjointed at home, that all their Diets broke up upon Preliminaries, before they could, according to their forms, enter upon business: He was set on heaping up Wealth, which seemed necessary to give his Son an interest in the succeeding Election. And upon his Death, a great party appeared for him, notwithstanding the general aversion to the Mother: But the Polish Nobility resolved to make no haste with their Election; they plainly set the Crown to Sale, and encouraged all Candidates that would bid for it: One Party declared for the Prince of Conti, of which their Primate, then a Cardinal, was the Head: The Emperor did all he could to support the

the late King's Son; but when he saw the French Party were too strong for him, he was willing to join with any other Pretender. 1697.

The Duke of Lorrain, the Prince of Baden, and Don Livio Odeschalchi, Pope Innocent's Nephew, were all named: But these not being likely to succeed, a Negotiation was secretly managed with the Elector of Saxony, which succeeded so well, that he was prevailed on to change his Religion, to advance his Troops towards the Frontier of Poland, to distribute eight Millions of Florins among the Poles, and to promise to confirm all their Privileges, and in particular, to undertake the Siege of Caminieck. He consented to all this, and declared himself a Candidate, a very few Days before the Election; and so he was set up by the Imperialists, in opposition to the French Party: His Party became quickly so strong, that tho', upon the first appearance at the Election, while every one of the Competitors was trying his strength, the French Party was the strongest, and was so declared by the Cardinal; yet when the other Pretenders saw that they could not carry the Election for themselves, they united in opposition to the French Interest, and gave over all their Voices to the Elector of Saxony, by which his Party became much the strongest, so he was proclaimed the Elected King. The Cardinal gave notice to the Court of France, of what had been done in favour of the Prince of Conti; and desired that he might be sent quickly thither, well furnished with Arms and Ammunition, but chiefly with Money. But the Party for Saxony made more dispatch; that Elector lay nearer, and had both his Money and Troops ready, so he took the Oaths that were required, and got the Change of his Religion to be attested by the Imperial Court: He made all the haste he could with his Army to Cracow, and he was soon after crowned, to the great

The Elector of Saxony chosen King of Poland.

joy

1697. joy of the Imperial Party, but the unexpreſſible trouble of all his Subjects in Saxony.

The Secular Men there ſaw, that the ſupporting this Elective Crown, would ruin his Hereditary Dominions: And thoſe, who laid the concerns of the Proteſtant Religion to heart, were much more troubled, when they ſaw that Houſe, under whoſe Protection their Religion grew up at firſt, now fall off to Popery. It is true, the preſent Family, ever ſince Maurice's time, had ſhewed very little zeal in that Cauſe: The Elected King had ſo ſmall a ſhare of Religion in himſelf, that little was to be expected from him: Nor was it much apprehended that he would become a Bigot, or turn a Perſecutor: But ſuch was the eagerneſs of the Popiſh Clergy towards the ſuppreſſing what they call Hereſy, and the perpetual jealouſies with which therefore they would poſſeſs the Poles, were like to be ſuch, in caſe he uſed no violence towards his Saxon Subjects, as poſſibly might have great effects on him; ſo that it is no wonder, if they were ſtruck with a general Conſternation upon his revolt. His Electoreſs, tho' a very young perſon, deſcended of the Houſe of Brandenbourg, expreſſed ſo extraordinary a meaſure of zeal and piety upon this occaſion, that it contributed much to the preſent quieting of their fears. The new King ſent a Popiſh Statholder to Dreſden, but ſo weak a Man, that there was no reaſon to apprehend much from any conduct of his. He alſo ſent them all the aſſurances, that could be given in words, that he would make no Change among them, nor has he hitherto made any ſteps towards it.

The Czar travelled to Holland and England.

A very unuſual accident happened at this time, that ſerved not a little to his quiet Eſtabliſhment on the Throne of Poland: The Czar was ſo ſenſible of the defects of his Education, that, in order to the correcting theſe, he reſolved to go a little into the World, for better Information: He was forming great Deſigns; he intended to make a na-

a navigable Canal between the Volga and the Tanais, by which he might carry both materials and proviſions for a Fleet to Azuph; and when that Communication was opened, he apprehended great things might be done afterwards. He therefore intended to ſee the Fleets of Holland and England, and to make himſelf as much Maſter of that matter, as his Genius could riſe up to. He ſent an Embaſſy to Holland, to regulate ſome matters of Commerce, and to ſee if they would aſſiſt him in the War he was deſigning againſt the Turks: When the Ambaſſadors were ſet out, he ſettled his Affairs in ſuch hands, as he truſted moſt to, and with a ſmall retinue of two or three Servants, he ſecretly followed his Ambaſſadors, and quickly overtook them. He diſcovered himſelf firſt to the Elector of Brandenbourg, who was then in Pruſſia, looking on the Diſpute that was like to ariſe in Poland, in which, if a War ſhould follow, he might be forced to have a ſhare. The Czar concerned himſelf much in the matter, not only by reaſon of the Neighbourhood, but becauſe he feared, that if the French Party ſhould prevail, France being in an Alliance with the Turk, a King ſent from thence would probably not only make a Peace with the Turk, but turn his Arms againſt himſelf, which would hinder all his Deſigns for a great Fleet. The French Party was ſtrongeſt in Lithuania: Therefore the Czar ſent Orders to his Generals, to bring a great Army to the Frontier of that Dutchy, to be ready to break into it, if a War ſhould begin in Poland: And we were told, that the terror of this had a great effect. From Pruſſia, the Czar went into Holland, and thence came over to England; therefore I will refer all that I ſhall ſay concerning him, to the time of his leaving England. 1697.

A Fleet was ordered at Dunkirk, to carry the Prince of Conti to Poland: A Squadron of ours, that lay before that Port, kept him in for ſome time: At laſt he got out, and ſailed to Dantzick; The Prince of Conti ſailed to Dantzick.

1697. but that City had declared for the new King, ſo they would not ſuffer him to land, with all thoſe that had come with him: They only conſented to ſuffer himſelf to land, with a ſmall Retinue; this he thought would not become him; ſo he landed at Marienbourg, where he was met by ſome of the Chief of his Party: They preſſed him to diſtribute the Money, that he had brought from France, among them; and promiſed to return quickly to him with a great Force: But he was limited by his Inſtructions, and would ſee a good Force, before he would part with his Treaſure. The new King ſent ſome Troops to diſperſe thoſe, who were coming together to ſerve him, and theſe had once almoſt ſeized on the Prince himſelf; but he acted after that with great caution, and would not truſt the Poles. He ſaw no appearance of any force like to be brought to him, equal to the Undertaking, and fearing leſt, if he ſtayed too long, he ſhould be frozen up in the Baltick, he came back to Dunkirk. The Cardinal ſtood out ſtill: The Court of Rome rejoyced at the pretended Converſion of the new King, and owned him; but he quickly ſaw ſuch a ſcene of difficulties, that he had reaſon to repent his embarking himſelf in ſuch a dangerous Undertaking. This may prove of ſuch Importance, both to the Political and Religious concerns of Europe, that I thought it deſerved that a particular mention ſhould be made of it, tho' it lies at a great diſtance from us: It had ſome influence in diſpoſing the French now to be more earneſt for a Peace: For if they had got a King of Poland in their dependance, that would have given them a great intereſt in the Northern Parts, with an eaſier acceſs, both to aſſiſt the Turk and the Malcontents in Hungary.

The Treaty of Ryſwick.

The Negotiation for a Peace was held at Ryſwick, a Houſe of the King's, between the Hague and Delft. The chief of our Plenipotentiaries was the Earl of Pembroke, a Man of eminent Virtue, and

and of great and profound Learning, particularly in the Mathematicks. This made him a little too ſpeculative and abſtracted in his Notions: He had great application, but he lived a little too much out of the World, tho' in a publick Station; a little more practice among Men, would give him the laſt finiſhing: There was ſomewhat in his perſon and manner, that created him an univerſal reſpect; for we had no Man among us, whom all ſides loved and honoured ſo much as they did him: There were two others joined with him in that Embaſſy. 1697.

The King of Sweden was received as Mediator, but he died before any progreſs was made in the Treaty: His Son, who ſucceeded him in his Throne, was alſo received to ſucceed him in the Mediation. The Father was a rough and boiſterous Man; he loved fatigue, and was free from Vice: He reduced his Kingdom to a Military State, and was ever going round it, to ſee how his Troops were ordered, and his Diſcipline obſerved: He looked narrowly into the whole Adminiſtration: He had quite altered the Conſtitution of his Kingdom: It was formerly changed from being an Elective, to be an Hereditary Kingdom; yet till his time, it had continued to be rather an Ariſtocracy than a Monarchy: But he got the Power of the Senators to be quite taken away, ſo that it was left free to him to make uſe of ſuch Counſellors as he ſhould chooſe: The Senators had enriched themſelves, and oppreſſed the People: They had devoured the Revenues of the Crown, and in two Reigns, in which the Sovereign was long in a ſtate of Infancy, both in Queen Chriſtina's and in the King's time, the Senators had taken care of themſelves, and had ſtripped the Crown. So the King moved for a general Reſumption, and this he obtained eaſily of the States: Who, as they envied the Wealth of the Senators, ſo they hoped that, by making the King rich, the People would be

The King of Sweden's Death. His Son is Mediator at the Treaty of Ryſwick.

1697. leſs charged with Taxes. This was not all: He got likewiſe an Act of Reviſion, by which thoſe who had Grants were to account for the mean profits, and this was applied even to thoſe who had Grants upon valuable Conſiderations; for when it appeared, that the valuable Conſideration was ſatisfied, they were to account for all they had received over and above that, and to repay this, with the intereſt of the Money, at 12 per Cent. for all the Years they had enjoyed it. This brought a great Debt on all the Senators and other Families of the Kingdom; it did utterly ruin them and left them at Mercy: And when the King took from them all they had, he kept them ſtill in a dependance upon him, giving them Employments in the Army or Militia that he ſet up.

After that, he procured of the States of his Kingdom, an abſolute Authority to govern them as he thought fit, and according to Law: But even this limitation ſeemed uneaſy, and their Slavery was finiſhed by another Act, which he obtained, that he ſhould not be obliged to govern by Law, but by his meer Will and Pleaſure. So ſucceſsful was he, in the ſpace of five Years, to ruin all the Families in his Kingdom, and to deſtroy their Laws and Liberties, and that by their own conſent. He died when his Son was but fifteen years old, and gave great hopes of being an active, warlike, and indefatigable Prince, which his Reign ever ſince has demonſtrated to the World.

The firſt act of his Reign, was the Mediation at Ryſwick, where the Treaty went on but ſlowly, till Harlay, the firſt of the French Plenipotentiaries, came to the Hague, who, as was believed, had the ſecret. He ſhewed a fairer inclination, than had appeared in the others, to treat frankly and honourably; and to clear all the Difficulties that had been ſtarted before: But while they were negotiating, by exchanging Papers, which was a ſlow method, ſubject to much delay, and too many exceptions

exceptions and evaſions, the Marſhal Bouflers deſired a Conference with the Earl of Portland, and by the order of their Maſters, they met four times, and were long alone. That Lord told me himſelf, that the ſubject of thoſe Conferences, was concerning King James. The King deſired to know, how the King of France intended to diſpoſe of him, and how he could own him, and yet ſupport the other. The King of France would not renounce the protecting him, by any Article of the Treaty: But it was agreed between them, that the King of France ſhould give him no aſſiſtance, nor give the King any diſturbance on his account: And that he ſhould retire from the Court of France, either to Avignon or to Italy. On the other hand, his Queen ſhould have fifty thouſand pounds a year, which was her Jointure, ſettle after his Death, and that it ſhould now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the Nation; and in this, the King very readily acquieſced: Theſe Meetings made the Treaty go on with more diſpatch, this tender point being once ſettled. 1697.

A new Difficulty aroſe with relation to the Empire: The French offered Brizack and Fribourg, as an equivalent for Straſbourg; the Court of Vienna conſented to this, but the Empire refuſed it: Theſe Places belonged to the Emperor's Hereditary Dominions, whereas Straſbourg was a free City, as well as a Proteſtant Town; ſo the Emperor was ſoon brought to accept of the exchange. All other matters were concerted: Spain was now as impatient of Delays, as France: England and the States had no other concern in the Treaty, but to ſecure their Allies, and to ſettle a Barrier in the Netherlands; ſo in September the Treaty was ſigned by all, except the German Princes: But a ſet time was prefixed for them to come into it. The Duke of Savoy was comprehended within it; and the Princes of the Empire, finding they could ſtruggle no longer, did at laſt conſent

The Peace was made and the Treaty ſigned.

1697. to it. A new piece of Treachery, againſt the Proteſtant Religion, broke out in the concluſion of all: The French declared that, that part of the Palatinate, which was ſtipulated to be reſtored in the ſtate in which it was, by virtue of that Article, was to continue in the ſame ſtate, with relation to Religion, in which it was at that time: By this, ſeveral Churches were to be condemned, that otherwiſe, according to the Laws of the Empire, and in particular of thoſe Dominions, were to be reſtored to the Proteſtants: The Elector Palatine accepted of the condition very willingly, being bigotted to a high degree: But ſome of the Princes, the King of Sweden in particular, as Duke of Deux-ponts, refuſed to ſubmit to it: But this had been ſecretly concerted, among the whole Popiſh party, who are always firm to the Intereſts of their Religion, and zealous for them; whereas the Proteſtant Courts are too ready to ſacrifice the common Intereſt of their Religion to their own private advantage. The King was troubled at this treacherous Motion, but he ſaw no Inclination in any of the Allies to oppoſe it, with the zeal with which it was preſſed on the other hand. The Importance of the thing, ſixteen Churches being only condemned by it, as the Earl of Pembroke told me, was not ſuch as to deſerve he ſhould venture a rupture upon it: And it was thought, the Elector Palatine might, on other accounts, be ſo obnoxious to the Proteſtants, and might need their Aſſiſtance and Protection ſo much, that he would be obliged afterwards to reſtore theſe Churches, thus wreſted from them: So the King contented himſelf, with ordering his Plenipotentiaries to proteſt againſt this, which they did in a formal Act that they paſſed.

Reflections on the Peace.

The King by this Peace concluded the great Deſign, of putting a ſtop to the progreſs of the French Arms, which he had conſtantly purſued from his firſt appearance on the Stage, in the Year 1672. There was not one of the Allies who complained, that

that he had been forgot by him, or wronged in the Treaty: Nor had the desire of having his Title universally acknowledged, raised any impatience in him, or made him run into this Peace with any indecent haste. The terms of it were still too much to the advantage of France; but the length and charge of the War had so exhausted the Allies, that the King saw the necessity of accepting the best Conditions that could be got: It is true, France was more harassed by the War, yet the arbitrary frame of that Government made their King the Master of the whole Wealth of his people: And the War was managed on both sides, between them and us, with this visible difference, that every Man who dealt with the French King was ruined by it; whereas, among us, every Man grew rich by his dealings with the King: And it was not easy to see how this could be either prevented or punished. The regard that is shewn to the Members of Parliament among us, makes that few abuses can be enquired into or discovered: And the King found his Reign grow so unacceptable to his people, by the continuance of the War, that he saw the necessity of coming to a Peace. The States were under the same pressure; they were heavier charged, and suffered more by the War than the English. The French got indeed nothing by a War which they had most perfidiously begun; they were forced to return to the Peace of Nimeguen: Pignerol and Brizack, which Cardinal Richlieu had considered as the Keys of Italy and Germany, were now parted with; and all that base practice, of claiming so much under the head of Re-unions and Dependencies, was abandoned: The Dutchy of Lorrain was also entirely restored: It was generally thought, that the King of France intended to live out the rest of his days in quiet; for his parting with Barcelona, made all people conclude, that he did not intend to prosecute the Dauphin's Pretensions upon the Crown of Spain, after that King's Death, by a 1697.

1697. new War; and that he would only try how to manage it by Negotiation.

The moſt melancholy part of this Treaty was, that no advantages were got by it in favour of the Proteſtants in France: The French Refugees made all poſſible Applications to the King, and to the other Proteſtant Allies; but as they were no part of the Cauſe of the War, ſo it did not appear that the Allies could do more for them, than to recommend them, in the warmeſt manner, to the King of France: But he was ſo far engaged in a courſe of Superſtition and Cruelty, that their condition became worſe by the Peace: The Court was more at leiſure to look after them, and to perſecute them, than they thought fit to do during the War. The Military Men in France did generally complain of the Peace, as diſhonourable and baſe: The Jacobites among us were the more confounded at the News of it, becauſe the Court of France did, to the laſt minute, aſſure King James, that they would never abandon his Intereſts: And his Queen ſent over aſſurances to their Party here, that England would be left out of the Treaty, and put to maintain the War alone: Of which they were ſo confident, that they entred into deep Wagers upon it; a practice little known among us before the War, but it was carried on, in the progreſs of it, to a very extravagant degree; ſo that they were ruined in their Fortunes, as well as ſunk in their Expectations by the Peace. It was ſaid, King James's Queen made a bold Repartee to the French King, when he told her the Peace was ſigned: She ſaid, ſhe wiſhed it might be ſuch as ſhould raiſe his Glory, as much as it might ſettle his Repoſe.

But while the Peace was concluded in theſe parts, the War between the Emperor and the Turk went on in Hungary: The Imperial Army was commanded by Prince Eugene, a Brother of the Count of Soiſſons, who apprehending, that he was not like to be ſo much conſidered as he thought he might

might deſerve in France, went and ſerved the Emperor, and grew up, in a few years, to be one of the greateſt Generals of the Age. 1697.

The Grand Signior came to command his Armies in perſon, and lay encamped on both ſides of the Theiſſe, having laid a Bridge over the River. Prince Eugene marched up to him, and attackt his Camp, on the Weſt ſide of the River, and after a ſhort diſpute, he broke in and was Maſter of the Camp, and forced all, who lay on that ſide, over the River. In this action many were killed and drowned; he followed them croſs the Theiſſe and gave them a total defeat: Moſt of their Janizaries were cut off, and the Prince became Maſter of all their Artillery and Magazines: The Grand Signior himſelf narrowly eſcaped, with a Body of Horſe, to Belgrade; this was a compleat Victory, and was the greateſt blow the Turks had received in the whole War. At the ſame time, the Czar was very ſucceſsful on his ſide againſt the Tartarians. The Venetians did little on their part, and the Confuſions in Poland made that Republick but a feeble Ally: So that the weight of the War lay wholly on the Emperor. But tho' he, being now delivered from the War with France, was more at leiſure to proſecute this, yet his Revenue was ſo exhauſted, that he was willing to ſuffer a Treaty to be carried on, by the Mediation of England and Holland; and the French, being now no longer concerned to engage the Port to carry on the War, the Grand Signior, fearing a Revolution upon his ill ſucceſs, was very glad to hearken to a Treaty, which was carried on all this Winter, and was finiſhed the next year at Carlowitz, from which place it takes its name.

The Turks Army in Hungary routed.

By it, both Parties were to keep that, of which they were then poſſeſſed; and ſo this long War of Hungary, which had brought both ſides by turns very near the laſt extremities, was concluded by the

The Peace of Carlowitz.

1697. the Direction and Mediation of the King of England: Upon which I will add a curious Obſervation, that tho' it may ſeem to be out of the Laws of Hiſtory, yet conſidering my Profeſſion, will I hope be forgiven.

The duration of the Turkiſh Wars.

Dr. Lloyd, the preſent moſt learned Biſhop of Worceſter, who has now, for above twenty Years, been ſtudying the Revelations with an amazing diligence and exactneſs, had long before this year ſaid, The Peace, between the Turks and the Papal Chriſtians, was certainly to be made in the year 1698, which he made out thus: The four Angels, mentioned in the fourteenth Chapter of the Revelations, that were bound in the River Euphrates, which he expounds to be the Captains of the Turkiſh Forces, that till then were ſubject to the Sultan at Babylon, were to be looſed, or freed from that Yoke, and to ſet up for themſelves: And theſe were prepared, to ſlay the third part of men, for an hour, a day, a month, and a year: He reckons the year, in St. John, is the Julian year of 365 days, that is, in the Prophetick ſtile, each day a year; a month is 30 of theſe days; and a day makes one; which added to the former number makes 396. Now he proves from Hiſtorians, that Ottoman came, and began his Conqueſts at Prouſſe, in the year 1302, to which the former number, in which they were to ſlay the third part of men, being added, it muſt end in the year 1698: And tho' the Hiſtorians do not mark the hour, or the twelfth part of the day or year, which is a month, that is, the beginning of the Deſtruction the Turks were to make; yet he is confident, if that is ever known, that the Prophecy will be found, even in that, to be punctually accompliſhed. After this, he thinks their time of hurting the Papal Chriſtians, is at an end; they may indeed ſtill do miſchief to the Muſcovites, or perſecute their own Chriſtian Subjects, but they can do no hurt to the Papalins; and he is ſo poſitive in this, that

that he consents that all his Scheme should be laid aside, if the Turk engages in a new War with them; and I must confess, that their refusing now, in a course of three years, to take any advantage from the Troubles in Hungary, to begin the War again, tho' we know they have been much sollicited to it, gives for the present a confirmation to this learned Prelate's Exposition of that part of the Prophecy. 1697.

The King came over to England, about the middle of November; and was received by the City of London, in a sort of Triumph, with all the Magnificence that he would admit. Some progress was made in preparing Triumphal Arches, but he put a stop to it; he seemed, by a natural modesty, to have contracted an antipathy to all vain shows; which was much increased in him, by what he had heard of the gross excesses of flattery, to which the French have run, beyond the examples of former Ages, in honour of their King; who having shewed too great a pleasure in these, they have been so far pursued, that the wit of that Nation has been for some years chiefly imployed on these; for they saw that mens fortunes were more certainly advanced, by a new and lively invention in that way, than by any service or merit whatsoever. This, in which that King has seemed to be too much pleased, rendring him contemptible to better Judges, gave the King such an aversion to every thing that looked that way, that he scarce bore even with things, that were decent and proper. The King came back to England.

The King ordered many of his Troops to be disbanded soon after the Peace; but a stop was put to that, because the French were very slow in evacuating the Places, that were to be restored by the Treaty, and were not beginning to reduce their Troops: So, tho' the King declared what he intended to do, yet he made no haste to execute it, Consultations about a standing Army.

1697. it, till it ſhould appear how the French intended to govern themſelves. The King thought it was abſolutely neceſſary, to keep up a conſiderable Land Force; he knew the French would ſtill maintain great Armies, and that the pretended Prince of Wales would certainly be aſſiſted by them, if England ſhould fall into a feeble and defenceleſs Condition; the King of Spain was alſo, in ſuch an uncertain ſtate of health, ſo weak and ſo exhauſted, that it ſeemed neceſſary, that England ſhould be in a condition to bar France's invading that Empire, and to maintain the Rights of the Houſe of Auſtria. But tho' he explained himſelf thus in general to his Miniſters, yet he would not deſcend to particulars, to tell how many he thought neceſſary, ſo that they had not authority to declare, what was the loweſt number the King inſiſted on.

The matter argued on both ſides.

Papers were writ on both ſides, for and againſt a ſtanding Force; on the one hand, it was pretended, that a ſtanding Army was incompatible with publick Liberty, and according to the Examples of former times, the one muſt ſwallow up the other. It was propoſed, that the Militia might be better modelled and more trained, which, with a good naval Force, ſome thought, would be an effectual ſecurity againſt Foreign Invaſions, as well as it would maintain our Laws and Liberties at home. On the other ſide, it was urged, that ſince all our Neighbours were armed, and the moſt formidable of them all kept up ſuch a mighty Force, nothing could give us a real ſecurity, but a good Body of regular Troops; nothing could be made of the Militia, chiefly of the Horſe, but at a vaſt charge; and if it was well regulated, and well commanded, it would prove a mighty Army; but this of the Militia was only talked of, to put by the other; for no project was ever propoſed to render it more uſeful; a Force at Sea might be ſo ſhattered, while the Enemy kept within their Ports

(as

(as it actually happened at the Revolution) that this ſtrength might come to be uſeleſs, when we ſhould need it moſt; ſo that without a conſiderable Land Force, it ſeemed the Nation would be too much expoſed. The word, "ſtanding Army," had an odious ſound in Engliſh ears; ſo the popularity lay on the other ſide; and the King's Miniſters ſuffered generally in the good Characters they had hitherto maintained, becauſe they ſtudied to ſtop the tide, that run ſo ſtrong the other way. 1697.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

At the opening the Seſſion of Parliament, the King told them, that in his opinion, a ſtanding Land Force was neceſſary; the Houſe of Commons carried the jealouſy of a ſtanding Army ſo high, that they would not bear the Motion, nor did they like the way the King took of offering them his opinion in the point: This ſeemed a preſcription to them, and might biaſs ſome, in the Counſels they were to offer the King, and be a bar to the freedom of Debate. The Managers for the Court had no Orders to name any number; ſo the Houſe came to a Reſolution of paying off and diſbanding all the Forces, that had been raiſed ſince the year 1680; this Vote brought the Army to be leſs than 8000: The Court was ſtruck with this; and then they tried, by an after-game, to raiſe the number to 15000 Horſe and Foot. If this had been propoſed in time, it would probably have been carried without any difficulty; but the King was ſo long upon the reſerve, that now, when he thought fit to ſpeak out his mind, he found it was too late: So a Force not exceeding 10000 Horſe and Foot was all that the Houſe could be brought to. This gave the King the greateſt diſtaſte of any thing that had befallen him in his whole Reign; he thought it would derogate much from him, and render his Alliance ſo inconſiderable, that he doubted whether he could carry on the Government, after it ſhould be reduced

A ſmall force kept up.

1697. duced to so weak and so contemptible a state. He said, that if he could have imagined, that after all the service he should have done the Nation, he should have met with such returns, he would never have meddled in our Affairs; and that he was weary of governing a Nation, that was so jealous, as to lay itself open to an Enemy, rather than trust him, who had acted so faithfully during his whole Life, that he had never once deceived those who trusted him. He said this, with a great deal more to the same purpose, to my self; but he saw the necessity of submitting to that, which could not be helped.

1698. During these Debates, the Earl of Sunderland had argued with many, upon the necessity of keeping up a greater Force; this was in so many hands, that he was charged as the Author of the Counsel, of keeping on foot a standing Army: So he was often named in the House of Commons, with many severe reflections, for which there had been but too much occasion given, during the two former Reigns. The Tories pressed hard upon him, and the Whigs were so jealous of him, that he apprehending, that while the former would attack him, the others would defend him faintly, resolved to prevent a publick affront, and to retire from the Court and from Business; not only against the entreaties of his Friends, but even the King's earnest desire that he would continue about him: Indeed, upon this occasion, his Majesty expressed such a concern and value for him, that the jealousies were encreased, by the confidence the Court saw, the King had in him. During the time of his credit, things had been carried on with more spirit and better success than before: He had gained such an ascendant over the King, that he brought him to agree to some things, that few expected he would have yielded to: He managed the publick affairs,

The Earl of Sunderland retired from business.

affairs, in both Houſes, with ſo much ſteadineſs and ſo good a conduct, that he had procured to himſelf a greater meaſure of eſteem, than he had in any of the former parts of his Life; and the feebleneſs and disjointed ſtate we fell into, after he withdrew, contributed not a little to eſtabliſh the Character, which his adminiſtration had gained him. 1698.

The Civil Liſt ſettled on the King for Life.

The Parliament went on ſlowly in fixing the Fund for the Supplies they had voted: They ſettled a Revenue on the King for Life, for the ordinary expence of the Government, which was called the Civil Liſt: This they carried to Seven hundred thouſand pounds a year, which was much more than the former Kings of England could apply to thoſe occaſions. Six hundred thouſand pounds was all that was deſigned, but it had been promiſed at the Treaty of Ryſwick, that King James, being now as dead to England, his Queen ſhould enjoy her Jointure, that was Fifty thouſand pound a year; and it was intended to ſettle a Court about the Duke of Gloceſter, who was then nine years old; ſo to enable the King, to bear that expence, this large proviſion was made for the Civil Liſt: But by ſome great error in the management, tho' the Court never had ſo much, and never ſpent ſo little, yet payments were ill made, and by ſome ſtrange conſumption, all was waſted.

A new Eaſt-India Company.

While the Houſe of Commons was ſeeking a Fund, for paying the Arrears of the Army, and for the Expence at Sea and Land for the next year; a Propoſition was made, for conſtituting a new Eaſt-India Company, who ſhould trade with a joint Stock, others being admitted in a determinate Proportion to a ſeparate Trade: The old Eaſt-India Company oppoſed this, and offered to advance a Sum (but far ſhort of what the publick Occaſions required) for an Act of Parliament, that ſhould confirm their Charters. The Projectors of the

1698. the new Company offered two Millions, upon the ſecurity of a good Fund, to pay the Intereſt of their Money at eight per Cent. Great oppoſition was made to this: For the King, upon an Addreſs that was made to him by the Houſe of Commons, had granted the old Company a new Charter, they being obliged to take in a new Subſcription of Seven hundred thouſand pounds, to encreaſe their Stock and Trade. Thoſe empowered by this new Charter, were not charged with any Maleverſation; they had been trading under great diſadvantages, and with great loſſes, by reaſon of the War: It is true, the King had reſerved a power to himſelf, by a clauſe in the Charter, to diſſolve them, upon warning given three years before ſuch diſſolution: So it was ſaid, that no injuſtice was done them, if publick notice ſhould be given of ſuch an intended diſſolution. To this it was anſwered, that the Clauſe, reſerving that power, was put in many Charters, but that it was conſidered only as a threatning, obliging them to a good conduct; but that it was not ordinary to diſſolve a Company, by virtue of ſuch a Clauſe, when no Error or Maleverſation was objected: The old Company came at laſt to offer the whole Sum that was wanted; but the Party was now formed, ſo they came too late, and this had no other effect, but to raiſe a clamour againſt this proceeding, as extremely rigorous, if not unjuſt. This threw the old Company, and all concerned in it, into the hands of the Tories, and made a great breach and diſjointing in the City of London: And it is certain, that this Act, together with the Inclinations which thoſe of the Whigs, who were in good Poſts, had expreſſed for keeping up a greater Land Force, did contribute to the blaſting the reputation, they had hitherto maintained, of being good Patriots, and was made uſe of over England by the Tories, to diſgrace both the King and them. To this, another

The Whigs loſe their credit in the Nation.

ther charge of a high nature was added, that they robbed the Publick, and applied much of the Money, that was given for the ſervice of the Nation, both to the ſupporting a vaſt Expence, and to the raiſing great Eſtates to themſelves. This was ſenſible to the people, who were uneaſy under heavy Taxes, and were too ready to believe, that, according to the practice in King Charles's time, a great deal of the Money that was given in Parliament, was divided among thoſe who gave it. Theſe clamours were raiſed and managed with great dexterity, by thoſe who intended to render the King, and all who were beſt affected to him, ſo odious to the Nation, that by this means they might carry ſuch an Election of a new Houſe of Commons, as that by it all might be overturned. It was ſaid, that the Bank of England and the new Eaſt-India Company, being in the hands of Whigs, they would have the command of all the Money, and by conſequence, of all the Trade of England; ſo a great Party was raiſed againſt the new Company, in both Houſes: But the Act for it was carried: The King was very indifferent in the matter at firſt, but the greatneſs of the Sum that was wanted, which could not probably be raiſed by any other Project, prevailed on him; the intereſts of Princes carrying them often to act againſt their private Opinions and Inclinations. 1698.

Before the King went into Holland, which was in July, News came from Spain, that their King was dying: This Alarm was often given before, but it came much quicker now. The French upon this, ſent a Fleet to lie before Cadiz, which came thither, at the time that the Galleons were expected home from the Weſt-Indies; and it was apprehended, that, if the King had died, they would have ſeized on all that Treaſure. We ſent a Fleet thither to ſecure them, but it came too late, The King of Spain's ill ſtate of health.

1698. late, to have done any ſervice, if it had been needed; this was much cenſured, but the Admiralty excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, that the Parliament was ſo late in fixing the Funds for the Fleet, that it was not poſſible to be ready ſooner than they were: The King of Spain recovered for that time, but it was ſo far from any entire recovery, that a Relapſe was ſtill apprehended. When the King went to Holland, he left ſome ſealed Orders behind him, of which ſome of his Miniſters told me, they knew not the contents till they were opened: By theſe, the King ordered 16000 Men to be kept up; for excuſing this, it was ſaid, that tho' the Parliament had, in their Votes, mentioned only 10000 Land men, to whom they had afterwards added 3000 Marines, and had raiſed only the Money neceſſary for that number, yet no determined number was mentioned in the Act itſelf; ſo, ſince the apprehenſion of the King of Spain's Death made it adviſable, to have a greater force ready for ſuch an Accident, the King reſolved to keep up a Force, ſomewhat beyond that, which the Houſe of Commons had conſented to; the leaving theſe Orders ſealed, made the whole blame to be caſt ſingly on the King, as it ſkreened the Miniſters from a ſhare in this Counſel: And we have more than once known Miniſters put the advices, that they themſelves gave, in ſuch a manner on their Maſters, that in executing them, our Kings have taken more care to ſhelter their Miniſters, than to preſerve themſelves.

The Duke of Gloceſter put in a method of Education.

The King, before his leaving England, ſettled a Houſhold about the Duke of Gloceſter: The Earl of Marlborough, who was reſtored to favour, was made his Governor, and I was named by the King, to be his Preceptor. I uſed all poſſible endeavours to excuſe my ſelf; I had hitherto

therto no ſhare in the Princeſs's favour or confi- 1698.
dence; I was alſo become uneaſy at ſome things in the King's conduct; I conſidered him as a glorious Inſtrument, raiſed up by God, who had done great things by him; I had alſo ſuch obligations to him, that I had reſolved, on publick as well as on private accounts, never to engage in any oppoſition to him, and yet I could not help thinking he might have carried matters further than he did; and that he was giving his Enemies handles, to weaken his Government. I had tried, but with little ſucceſs, to uſe all due freedom with him; he did not love to be found fault with; and tho' he bore every thing that I ſaid very gently, yet he either diſcouraged me with ſilence, or anſwered in ſuch general expreſſions, that they ſignified little or nothing. Theſe conſiderations diſpoſed me, rather to retire from the Court and Town, than to engage deeper in ſuch a conſtant attendance, for ſo many years, as this Imployment might run out to: The King made it indeed eaſy, in one reſpect; for as the young Prince was to be all the Summer at Windſor, which was in my Dioceſe; ſo he allowed me ten weeks in the year, for the other parts of my Dioceſe. All my endeavours to decline this were without effect; the King would truſt that care only to me, and the Princeſs gave me ſuch encouragement, that I reſolved not only to ſubmit to this, which ſeemed to come from a direction of Providence, but to give my ſelf wholly up to it. I took, to my own Province, the reading and explaining the Scriptures to him, the inſtructing him in the Principles of Religion, and the Rules of Virtue, and the giving him a view of Hiſtory, Geography, Politicks and Government. I reſolved alſo to look very exactly to all the Maſters, that were appointed to teach him other things; but now I turn, to

1698. give an account of some things, that more immediately belong to my own Profession.

The progress of Socinianism.

This year, Thomas Firmin, a famous Citizen of London, died: He was in great esteem, for promoting many charitable Designs, for looking after the Poor of the City, and setting them to work; for raising great Sums for Schools and Hospitals, and indeed, for Charities of all sorts, private and publick; he had such credit with the richest Citizens, that he had the command of great Wealth, as oft as there was occasion for it; and he laid out his own time chiefly, in advancing all such designs: These things gained him a great reputation; he was called a Socinian, but was really an Arian, which he very freely owned, before the Revolution; but he gave no publick vent to it, as he did afterwards. He studied to promote his Opinions, after the Revolution, with much heat; many Books were printed against the Trinity, which he dispersed over the Nation, distributing them freely to all who would accept of them: Profane Wits were much delighted with this; it became a common Topick of Discourse, to treat all Mysteries in Religion, as the contrivances of Priests, to bring the World into a blind submission to them; Priestcraft grew to be another word in fashion, and the Enemies of Religion vented all their Impieties, under the cover of these words; but while these pretended much zeal for the Government, those who were at work to undermine it, made great use of all this; they raised a great outcry against Socinianism, and gave it out, that it was like to over-run all; for Archbishop Tillotson, and some of the Bishops, had lived in great friendship with Mr. Firmin, whose charitable temper they thought it became them to encourage. Many undertook to write in this Controversy; some of these were not fitted for handling

ling ſuch a nice Subject: A learned Deiſt made a ſevere remark on the progreſs of this Diſpute; he ſaid, he was ſure the Divines would be too hard for the Socinians, in proving their Doctrines out of Scripture; but if the Doctrine could be once laughed at and rejected as abſurd, then its being proved, how well ſoever, out of Scripture, would turn to be an Argument againſt the Scriptures themſelves, as containing ſuch incredible Doctrines. 1698.

Different Explanations of the Trinity.

The Divines did not go all in the ſame method, nor upon the ſame Principles; Dr. Sherlock engaged in the Controverſy: He was a clear, a polite and a ſtrong Writer, and had got great credit in the former Reign, by his Writings againſt thoſe of the Church of Rome; but he was apt to aſſume too much to himſelf, and to treat his Adverſaries with contempt; this created him many Enemies, and made him paſs for an inſolent haughty Man: He was at firſt a Jacobite, and while, for not taking the Oaths, he was under ſuſpenſion, he wrote againſt the Socinians, in which he took a new method of explaining the Trinity; he thought there were three eternal Minds; two of theſe iſſuing from the Father, but that theſe were one, by reaſon of a mutual conſciouſneſs in the three, to every of their thoughts: This was looked on as plain Tritheiſm; but all the Party applauded him and his Book; ſoon after that, an accident of an odd nature happened.

Dr. Sherlock left the Jacobites.

There was a Book drawn up by Biſhop Overall, fourſcore years ago, concerning Government, in which, its being of a Divine Inſtitution was very poſitively aſſerted; it was read in Convocation, and paſſed by that Body, in order to the publiſhing it, in oppoſition to the Principles laid down, in that famous book of Parſon's the Je-

1698. ſuit, publiſhed under the name of Dollman. King James the Firſt, did not like a Convocation entring into ſuch a Theory of Politicks; ſo he wrote a long Letter to Abbot, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, but was then in the Lower Houſe: I had the Original, writ all in his own hand, in my poſſeſſion; by it he deſired, that no further progreſs ſhould be made in that matter, and that this Book might not be offered to him for his aſſent. Thus that matter ſlept, but Sancroft had got Overal's own Book into his hands; ſo, in the beginning of this Reign, he reſolved to publiſh it as an authentick Declaration, that the Church of England had made in this matter; and it was publiſhed, as well as licenſed by him, a very few days before he came under ſuſpenſion for not taking the Oaths: But there was a Paragraph or two in it that they had not conſidered, which was plainly calculated to juſtify the owning the United Provinces to be a lawful Government: For it was there laid down, that when a change of Government was brought to a thorough ſettlement, it was then to be owned and ſubmitted to as a work of the Providence of God; and a part of King James's Letter to Abbot related to this. When Sherlock obſerved this, he had ſome Conferences with the Party, in order to convince them by that, which he ſaid had convinced himſelf: Soon after that he took the Oaths, and was made Dean of St. Paul's: He publiſhed an account of the grounds he went on, which drew out many virulent Books againſt him: After that they purſued him with the clamour of Tritheiſm, which was done with much malice, by the very ſame perſons who had highly magnified the performance, while he was of their Party: So powerful is the biaſs of intereſt and paſſion, in the moſt ſpeculative and the moſt important Doctrines.

Dr.

Dr. South, a learned but an ill-natured Divine, who had taken the Oaths, but with the reſerve of an equivocal ſenſe, which he put on them, attackt Dr. Sherlock's Book of the Trinity, not without Wit and Learning, but without any meaſure of Chriſtian Charity, and without any regard either to the dignity of the Subject, or the decencies of his Profeſſion. He explained the Trinity in the common method, that the Deity was one Eſſence in three Subſiſtencies: Sherlock replied, and charged this as Sabellianiſm; and ſome others went into the Diſpute with ſome Learning, but with more heat: One preached Sherlock's Notion before the Univerſity of Oxford, for which he was cenſured; but Sherlock wrote againſt that Cenſure, with the higheſt ſtrains of contempt. The Socinians triumphed not a little upon all this; and, in ſeveral of their Books, they divided their Adverſaries into real and nominal Trinitarians: Sherlock was put in the firſt Claſs; as for the ſecond Claſs, they pretended, it had been the Doctrine of the Weſtern Church, ever ſince the time that the fourth Council in the Lateran ſat: Some, who took advantage from theſe Debates to publiſh their Impieties without fear or ſhame, rejoiced to ſee the Divines engaged in ſuch ſubtle Queſtions; and they reckoned, that, which ſide ſoever might have the better, in the turn of this Controverſy, yet in concluſion they alone muſt be the Gainers by every Diſpute, that brought ſuch important matters to a doubtfulneſs, which might end in Infidelity at laſt. 1698. Dr. South wrote againſt him.

The ill effects that were like to follow on thoſe different Explanations, made the Biſhops move the King to ſet out Injunctions, requiring them to ſee to the repreſſing of Error and Hereſy with all poſſible zeal, more particularly in the fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; and to watch againſt and hinder the uſe of new Terms or new The King's Injunctions ſilence thoſe Diſputes.

1698. Explanations in thoſe matters. This put a ſtop to thoſe Debates, as Mr. Firmin's Death put a ſtop to the printing and ſpreading of Socinian Books. Upon all this, ſome angry Clergymen, who had not that ſhare of Preferment that they thought they deſerved, begun to complain, that no Convocation was ſuffered to ſit, to whom the judging in ſuch points ſeemed moſt properly to belong. Books were writ on this head: It was ſaid, that the Law made in King Henry the Eighth's time, that limited the Power of that body, ſo that no new Canons could be attempted or put in uſe, without the King's Licenſe and Conſent, did not diſable them from ſitting: On the contrary, a Convocation was held to be a part of the Parliament, ſo that it ought always to attend upon it, and to be ready, when adviſed with, to give their Opinions chiefly in matters of Religion. They had alſo, as theſe men pretended, a right to prepare Articles and Canons, and to lay them before the King, who might indeed deny his aſſent to them, as he did to Bills, that were offered him by both Houſes of Parliament. This led them to ſtrike at the King's Supremacy, and to aſſert the intrinſick Power of the Church, which had been diſowned by this Church ever ſince the time of the Reformation: And indeed, the King's Supremacy was thought to be carried formerly too high, and that by the ſame ſort of men who were now ſtudying to lay it as low. It ſeemed, that ſome men were for maintaining it, as long as it was in their management, and that it made for them; but reſolved to weaken it all they could, as ſoon as it went out of their hands, and was no more at their diſcretion: Such a turn do mens intereſts and partialities give to their Opinions.

Diviſions among the Clergy.

All this while it was manifeſt, that there were two different Parties among the Clergy; one was firm

firm and faithful to the preſent Government, and ſerved it with zeal: Theſe did not envy the Diſſenters the eaſe that the Toleration gave them; they wiſhed for a favourable opportunity of making ſuch alterations in ſome few Rites and Ceremonies, as might bring into the Church thoſe who were not at too great a diſtance from it: And I do freely own that I was of this number. Others took the Oaths indeed, and concurred in every act of compliance with the Government, but they were not only cold in ſerving it, but were always blaming the Adminiſtration, and aggravating misfortunes: They expreſſed a great eſteem for Jacobites, and in all Elections, gave their Votes for thoſe who leaned that way: At the ſame time they ſhewed great reſentments againſt the Diſſenters, and were enemies to the Toleration, and ſeemed reſolved never to conſent to any alteration in their favour. The bulk of the Clergy ran this way, ſo that the moderate Party was far out-numbered. Profane Minds had too great advantages from this, in reflecting ſeverely on a body of men that took Oaths, and performed publick Devotions, when the reſt of their Lives was too publick and too viſible a contradiction to ſuch Oaths and Prayers. 1698.

Diviſions among the Papiſts.

But while we are thus unhappily disjointed in matters of Religion, our Neighbours are not ſo entirely united as they pretend to be: The Quietiſts are ſaid to encreaſe not only in Italy, but in France: The Perſecution there began at firſt upon a few Janſeniſts, but it turned ſoon to the Proteſtants, on whom it has been long very heavy and bloody: This had put an end to all Diſputes in thoſe matters; A new Controverſy has ſince been managed with great heat, between Boſſuet, the famous Biſhop, firſt of Condom and now of Meaux, and La Motte Fenelon, who was once in high favour

1698. favour with Madam Maintenon, and was, by her means, made Preceptor to the Dauphin's Children, and afterwards advanced to be Archbiſhop of Cambray. He wrote a Treatiſe of Spiritual Maxims, according to the ſubtilty, as well as the ſublimity of the Writers called the Myſticks: In it, he diſtinguiſhed between that, which was falſly charged upon them, and that which was truly their Doctrine: He put the perfection of a ſpiritual Life, in the loving of God purely for himſelf, without any regard to ourſelves, even to our own Salvation: And in our being brought to ſuch a ſtate of Indifference, as to have no will nor deſire of our own, but to be ſo perfectly united to the Will of God, as to rejoice in the hope of Heaven, only becauſe it is the Will of God to bring us thither, without any regard to our own happineſs. Boſſuet wrote ſo ſharply againſt him, that one is tempted to think, a rivalry for favour and preferment had as great a ſhare in it as zeal for the Truth. The matter was ſent to Rome; Fenelon had ſo many authorized and canonized Writers of his ſide, that many diſtinctions muſt be made uſe of to ſeparate them from him: But the King was much ſet againſt him; he put him from his attendance on the young Princeſs, and ſent him to his Dioceſe: His diſgrace ſerved to raiſe his Character. Madam Maintenon's violent averſion to a man ſhe ſo lately raiſed, was imputed to his not being ſo tractable as ſhe expected, in perſwading the King to own his Marriage with her: But that I leave to conjecture. There is a breach running thro' the Lutheran Churches; it appeared at firſt openly at Hamborough, where many were going into ſtricter methods of Piety, who from thence were called Pietiſts: There is no difference of Opinion between them and the reſt, who are moſt rigid to old forms, and are jealous of all new things, eſpe-

especially of a stricter course of Devotion, beyond what they themselves are inclined to practise. There is likewise a Spirit of Zeal and Devotion, and of publick Charities, sprung at home, beyond what was known among us in former times; of which I may have a good occasion to make mention hereafter. 1698.

But to return from this digression: The Company in Scotland, this year, set out a Fleet, with a Colony, on design to settle in America: The secret was better kept than could have been well expected, considering the many hands in which it was lodged: It appeared at last, that the true design had been guessed, from the first motion of it: They landed at Darien, which, by the report that they sent over, was capable of being made a strong place, with a good Port. It was no wonder, that the Spaniards complained loudly of this; it lay so near Porto-Bello and Panama on the one side, and Carthagena on the other, that they could not think they were safe, when such a Neighbour came so near the Center of their Empire in America: The King of France complained also of this, as an Invasion of the Spanish Dominions, and offered the Court of Madrid a Fleet to dislodge them. The Spaniards pressed the King hard upon this: They said, they were once possessed of that place; and tho' they found it too unhealthy to settle there, yet the right to it belonged still to them: So this was a breach of Treaties, and a violent possession of their Country. In answer to this, the Scotch pretended, that the Natives of Darien were never conquered by the Spaniards, and were by consequence a free People; they said, they had purchased of them leave to possess themselves of that place, and that the Spaniards abandoned the Country, because they could not reduce the Natives; So the pretension of the first discovery was

The Scotch settle at Darien.

1698. made void, when they went off from it, not being able to hold it; and then the Natives being left to themſelves, it was lawful for the Scots to treat with them: It was given out, that there was much Gold in the Country. Certainly, the Nation was ſo full of hopes from this Project, that they raiſed a Fund for carrying it on, greater than, as was thought, that Kingdom could ſtretch to: Four hundred thouſand pounds Sterling was ſubſcribed, and a fourth part was paid down, and afterwards, Seventy thouſand pounds more was brought in, and a National fury ſeemed to have tranſported the whole Kingdom upon this Project.

Great diſputes about it.

The Jacobites went into the management with a particular heat: They ſaw the King would be much preſſed from Spain: The Engliſh Nation apprehending that this would be ſet up as a breach of Treaties, and that upon a Rupture, their Effects in Spain might be ſeized, grew alſo very uneaſy at it; upon which it was thought, that the King would in time be forced to diſown this Invaſion, and to declare againſt it, and in that caſe, they hoped to have inflamed the Kingdom with this, that the King denied them his Protection, while they were only acting according to Law; and this, they would have ſaid, was contrary to the Coronation Oath, and ſo they would have thought they were freed from their Allegiance to him. The Jacobites, having this proſpect, did all that was poſſible to raiſe the hopes of the Nation to the higheſt degree: Our Engliſh Plantations grew alſo very jealous of this new Colony; they feared, that the double proſpect of finding Gold, and of robbing the Spaniards, would draw many Planters from them into this new Settlement; and that the Buccaneers might run into them: For by the Scotch Act, this place was to be made a free Port; and if it was not ruined, before it was well formed,

ed, they reckoned it would become a ſeat of Piracy and another Algiers in thoſe parts. Upon theſe grounds, the Engliſh Nation inclined to declare againſt this, and the King ſeemed convinced, that it was an infraction of his Treaties with Spain: So Orders were ſent, but very ſecretly, to the Engliſh Plantations, particularly to Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, to forbid all Commerce with the Scots at Darien. The Spaniards made ſome faint attempts on them, but without ſucceſs: This was a very great difficulty on the King; he ſaw how much he was like to be preſſed on both hands, and he apprehended what ill conſequences were like to follow, on his declaring himſelf either way. 1698.

The Parliament of England had now ſate its period of three years, in which great things had been done: The whole Money of England was recoined; the King was ſecured in his Government, an honourable Peace was made, Publick Credit was reſtored, and the payment of Publick Debts was put on ſure and good Funds. The chief conduct lay now in a few hands: The Lord Somers was made a Baron of England; and as he was one of the ableſt and the moſt incorrupt Judges that ever ſate in Chancery, ſo his great Capacity for all Affairs made the King conſider him beyond all his Miniſters, and he well deſerved the confidence that the King expreſſed for him on all occaſions. In the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Mountague had gained ſuch a viſible aſcendant over all that were zealous for the King's Service, that he gave the Law to the reſt, which he did always with great ſpirit, but ſometimes with too aſſuming an air. The Fleet was in the Earl of Orford's management, who was both Treaſurer of the Navy, and was at the head of the Admiralty; he had brought in many into the Service, who were very zealous for the Government, but a ſpirit of Impiety

The preſent Miniſtry's good conduct.

1698. Impiety and Diſſolution ran thro' too many of them, ſo that thoſe who intended to caſt a load upon the Government, had too great advantages given by ſome of theſe. The Adminiſtration at home was otherwiſe without exception, and no grievances were complained of.

A new Parliament. There was a new Parliament called, and the Elections fell generally on men who were in the Intereſts of the Government: Many of them had indeed ſome popular Notions, which they had drank in under a bad Government, and thought they ought to keep them under a good one: So that thoſe who wiſhed well to the publick, did apprehend great difficulties in managing them. The King himſelf did not ſeem to lay this to heart ſo much as was fitting; he ſtayed long beyond Sea; he had made a viſit to the Duke of Zell, where he was treated in a moſt magnificent manner. Croſs Winds hinder'd his coming over to England ſo ſoon as he had intended; upon which the Parliament was prorogued for ſome weeks after the Members were come up; even this ſoured their ſpirits, and had too great a ſhare in the ill humour that appeared among them.

The Forces much diminiſhed. The King's keeping up an Army beyond the Votes of the former Parliament, was much reſented, nor was the occaſion for doing it enough conſidered; all this was increaſed by his own management after he came over. The Miniſters repreſented to him, that they could carry the keeping up a Land Force of ten or twelve thouſand, but that they could not carry it further: He ſaid, ſo ſmall a number was as good as none at all, therefore he would not authorize them to propoſe it: On the other hand, they thought they ſhould loſe their Credit with their beſt friends, if they ventured to ſpeak of a greater number. So, when the Houſe of Commons took up the Debate, the Miniſtry were

ſilent

ſilent and propoſed no number; upon which thoſe, who were in the contrary intereſt, named Seven thouſand Men, and to this they added, that they ſhould be all the King's natural born Subjects. Both the parts of this Vote gave the King great uneaſineſs: He ſeemed not only to lay it much to heart, but to ſink under it: He tried all that was poſſible to ſtruggle againſt it, when it was too late; it not being ſo eaſy to recover things in an after-game, as it was to have prevented this miſunderſtanding, that was like to ariſe between him and his Parliament. It was ſurmized, that he was reſolved not to paſs the Bill, but that he would abandon the Government, rather than hold it with a Force that was too ſmall to preſerve and protect it; yet this was conſidered only as a threatning, ſo that little regard was had to it: The Act paſſed with ſome oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons; a feeble attempt was made in the Houſe of Lords againſt it, but it was rather a reproach, than a ſervice to the Government, it being faintly made and ill ſupported. The Royal Aſſent was given, and when it was hoped, that the paſſing the Act had ſoftned peoples minds, a new attempt was made for keeping the Dutch Guards in England, but that was rejected, tho' the King ſent a Meſſage deſiring it. 1698.

In the carrying theſe points, many hard things were ſaid againſt the Court, and againſt the King himſelf; it was ſuggeſted, that he loved not the Nation; that he was on the reſerve with all Engliſhmen, and ſhewed no confidence in them; but that as ſoon as the Seſſion of Parliament was over, he went immediately to Holland; and they ſaid, this was not to look after the affairs of the States, which had been more excuſable; but that he went thither to enjoy a lazy privacy at Loo; where, with a few Favourites, he hunted and paſſed

The Party oppoſed the King with great bitterneſs.

1698. paſſed away the Summer, in a way that did not raiſe his Character much. It is certain, the uſage he had met with of late, put his Spirits too much on the fret; and he neither took care to diſguiſe that, nor to overcome the ill humour, which the manner of his deportment, rather than any juſt occaſion given by him, had raiſed in many againſt him. Some, in the Houſe of Commons, began to carry things much further, and to ſay, that they were not bound to maintain the Votes, and to keep up the Credit of the former Parliament; and they tried to ſhake the Act, made in favour of the new Eaſt-India Company: This was ſo contrary to the fundamental Maxims of our Conſtitution, that it gave cauſe of Jealouſy, ſince this could be intended for nothing, but to ruin the Government: Money raiſed by Parliament, upon Bargains and Conditions that were performed by thoſe who advanced it, gave them ſuch a purchaſe of thoſe Acts, and this was ſo ſacred, that to overturn it muſt deſtroy all Credit for the future, and no Government could be maintained that did not preſerve this religiouſly.

1699. A Debate concerning Grants of Iriſh Eſtates.

Among other Complaints, one made againſt the Court was, that the King had given Grants of the confiſcated Eſtates in Ireland: It was told before, that a Bill being ſent up by the Commons, attainting the Iriſh that had been in Arms, and applying their Eſtates to the paying the Publick Debts, leaving only a Power to the King, to diſpoſe of the third part of them, was like to lie long before the Lords, many Petitions being offered againſt it; upon which the King, to bring the Seſſion to a ſpeedy concluſion, had promiſed, that this matter ſhould be kept entire, till their next meeting: But the next Seſſion going over, without any proceeding in it, the King granted away

away all thoſe Confiſcations: It being an undoubted Branch of the Royal Prerogative, that all Confiſcations accrued to the Crown, and might be granted away at the pleaſure of the King: It was pretended, that thoſe Eſtates came to a Million and a half in value. Great Objections were made to the merits of ſome, who had the largeſt ſhare in thoſe Grants; attempts had been made, in the Parliament of Ireland, to obtain a confirmation of them, but that which Ginkle, who was created Earl of Athlone, had, was only confirmed: Now it was become a popular ſubject of Declamation, to arraign both the Grants, and thoſe who had them: Motions had been often made, for a general Reſumption of all the Grants made in this Reign; But in anſwer to this, it was ſaid, that ſince no ſuch motion was made, for a Reſumption of the Grants made in King Charles the Second's Reign, notwithſtanding the extravagant profuſion of them, and the ill grounds upon which they were made, it ſhewed both a diſreſpect and a black ingratitude, if, while no other Grants were reſumed, this King only ſhould be called in queſtion. The Court Party ſaid often, let the Retroſpect go back to the year 1660, and they would conſent to it, and that which might be got by it would be worth the while. It was anſwered, this could not be done after ſo long a time, that ſo many Sales, Mortgages, and Settlements had been made, purſuant to thoſe Grants; ſo all theſe attempts came to nothing. But now they fell on a more effectual method. A Commiſſion was given, by Act of Parliament, to ſeven perſons named by the Houſe of Commons, to enquire into the Value of the confiſcated Eſtates in Ireland ſo granted away, and into the Conſiderations, upon which thoſe Grants were made. This paſt in this Seſſion, and in the Debates, a great alienation diſcovered itſelf 1699.

1699. in many from the King and his Government, which had a very ill effect upon all affairs, both at home and abroad. When the time prefixed for the disbanding the Army came, it was reduced to Seven thousand Men; of these, Four thousand were Horse and Dragoons, the Foot were Three thousand; the Bodies were also reduced to so small a number of Soldiers, that it was said we had now an Army of Officers: The new model was much approved of by proper Judges, as the best into which so small a number could have been brought. There was at the same time, a very large Provision made for the Sea, greater than was thought necessary in a time of Peace. Fifteen thousand Seamen, with a Fleet proportioned to that number, was thought a necessary security, since we were made so weak by Land.

The Czar of Moscovy in England.

I mentioned, in the relation of the former year, the Czar's coming out of his own Country; on which I will now enlarge: He came this Winter over to England, and stayed some Months among us; I waited often on him, and was ordered, both by the King and the Archbishop and Bishops, to attend upon him, and to offer him such Informations of our Religion and Constitution, as he was willing to receive: I had good Interpreters, so I had much free discourse with him. He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his Passion; he raises his natural heat, by drinking much Brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application: He is subject to convulsive Motions all over his Body, and his Head seems to be affected with these; he wants not Capacity, and has a larger measure of Knowledge than might be expected from his Education, which was very indifferent: A want of Judgment, with an instability of Temper, appear in him too often and too evidently; he is mechanically turned, and seems designed by Nature rather

rather to be a Ship Carpenter, than a great Prince: this was his chief ſtudy and exerciſe while he ſtayed here: He wrought much with his own hands, and made all about him work at the Models of Ships: He told me, he deſigned a great Fleet at Azuph, and with it to attack the Turkiſh Empire; but he did not ſeem capable of conducting ſo great a Deſign, though his conduct in his Wars ſince this, has diſcovered a greater Genius in him, than appeared at that time. He was diſpoſed to underſtand our Doctrine, but he did not ſeem deſirous to mend matters in Muſcovy: He was indeed reſolved to encourage Learning, and to poliſh his People, by ſending ſome of them to travel in other Countries, and to draw Strangers to come and live among them. He ſeemed apprehenſive ſtill of his Siſter's Intrigues. There was a mixture both of Paſſion and Severity in his temper. He is reſolute, but underſtands little of War, and ſeemed not at all inquiſitive that way. After I had ſeen him often, and had converſed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the Providence of God, that had raiſed up ſuch a furious man, to ſo abſolute an Authority over ſo great a part of the World. 1699.

David, conſidering the great things God had made for the uſe of man, broke out into the Meditation, What is man, that thou art ſo mindful of him? But here there is an occaſion, for reverſing theſe words, ſince Man ſeems a very contemptible thing, in the ſight of God, while ſuch a perſon as the Czar has ſuch multitudes put as it were under his feet, expoſed to his reſiſtleſs Jealouſy and ſavage Temper. He went from hence to the Court of Vienna, where he purpoſed to have ſtayed ſome time, but he was called home ſooner than he had intended, upon a diſcovery or a ſuſpicion of Intrigues managed by his Siſter: The Strangers to whom he truſted moſt, were ſo true to him, that thoſe de-

1699. ſigns were cruſhed before he came back; but on this occaſion, he let looſe his fury on all whom he ſuſpected; ſome hundreds of them were hanged all round Moſcow, and it was ſaid, that he cut off many Heads with his own hand, and ſo far was he from relenting or ſhewing any ſort of tenderneſs, that he ſeemed delighted with it. How long he is to be the Scourge of that Nation, or of his Neighbours, God only knows: So extraordinary an incident will, I hope, juſtify ſuch a digreſſion.

The Affairs of Poland. The King of Poland was not much better thought of by the Poles, though ſomewhat deeper in his deſigns; he had given that Republick great cauſe of ſuſpecting, that he intended to turn that free and elective State, into an hereditary and abſolute Dominion. Under the pretence of a Civil War, like to ariſe at home, on the Prince of Conti's account, and of the War with the Turks, he had brought in an Army of Saxons, of whom the Poles were now become ſo jealous, that if he does not ſend them home again, probably that Kingdom will fall into new Wars.

The Affairs of Sweden. The young King of Sweden ſeemed to inherit the roughneſs of his Father's temper, with the Piety and the Virtues of his Mother; his Coronation was performed in a particular manner; he took up the Crown himſelf, and ſet it on his head; the deſign of this innovation in the Ceremonial ſeems to be, that he will not have his ſubjects think that he holds his Crown in any reſpect by their Grant or Conſent, but that it was his own by Deſcent: Therefore no other perſon was to ſet it on his head: Whereas, even abſolute Princes are willing to leave this poor remnant and ſhadow of a popular Election, among the Ceremonies of their Coronation; ſince they are crowned upon the deſires and ſhoutings of their People. Thus the two Northern Crowns, Denmark and Sweden, that were long under great reſtraints by their Conſtitution,

tion, have in our own time, emancipated themſelves ſo entirely, that in their Government they have little regard, either to the rules of Law or the decencies of Cuſtom. A little time will ſhew, whether Poland can be brought to ſubmit to the ſame abſoluteneſs of Government; they who ſet their Crown to Sale, in ſo bare-faced a manner, may be ſuppoſed ready likewiſe to ſell their Liberties, if they can find a Merchant, that will come up to their Price. 1699.

A Treaty for the Succeſſion to the Crown of Spain.

The frequent relapſes, and the feeble ſtate of the King of Spain's Health, gave the World great alarms. The Court of Vienna truſted to their intereſt in the Court of Spain, and in that King himſelf; the French Court was reſolved not to let go their Pretenſions to that Succeſſion, without great advantages; the King and the States were not now ſtrong enough to be the Umpires in that matter; this made them more eaſily hearken to Propoſitions, that were ſet on foot by the Court of France; the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was propoſed, he being the only Iſſue of the King of Spain's ſecond Siſter, who was married to the Emperor. Into this, the King, the States, and the Elector of Bavaria entred: the Court of Spain agreed to this; and that King, by his Will, confirmed his Father's Will, by which the Succeſſion of the Crown was ſettled on the Iſſue of the ſecond Daughter, and it was reſolved to engage all the Grandees and Cities of Spain, to maintain the Succeſſion, according to this Settlement. The Houſe of Auſtria complained of this, and pretended that, by a long tract of reciprocal Settlements, ſeveral mutual Entails had paſſed, between thoſe two Branches of the Houſe of Auſtria; the Court of France ſeemed alſo to complain of it, but they were ſecretly in it, upon engagements, that the Dominions in Italy ſhould fall to their ſhare: but while theſe engagements, in favour of the Prince

1699. Electoral, were raiſing great apprehenſions every where, that young Prince, who ſeemed marked out for great things, and who had all the promiſing beginnings, that could be expected in a Child of ſeven years old, fell ſick, and was carried off the third or fourth day of his illneſs; ſo uncertain are all the proſpects, and all the hopes, that this World can give. Now the Dauphin and the Emperor were to diſpute, or to divide this Succeſſion between them; ſo a new Treaty was ſet on foot: It was generally given out, and too eaſily believed, that the King of France was grown weary of War, and was reſolved to paſs the reſt of his days in Peace and Quiet; but that he could not conſent to the exaltation of the Houſe of Auſtria; yet if that Houſe were ſet aſide, he would yield up the Dauphin's pretenſions; and ſo the Duke of Savoy was much talked of, but it was with the proſpect of having his Hereditary Dominions yielded up to the Crown of France: But this great matter came to another digeſtion a few Months after.

The Earl of Albemarle's favour.

About this time, the King ſet up a new Favourite: Keppel, a Gentleman of Guelder, was raiſed from being a Page, into the higheſt degree of favour, that any perſon had ever attained, about the King: He was now made Earl of Albemarle, and ſoon after Knight of the Garter, and by a quick and unaccountable progreſs, he ſeemed to have engroſſed the Royal Favour ſo entirely, that he diſpoſed of every thing, that was in the King's Power. He was a chearful young man, that had the art to pleaſe, but was ſo much given up to his own pleaſures, that he could ſcarce ſubmit to the attendance and drudgery, that was neceſſary to maintain his Poſt. He never had yet diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any thing, tho' the King did it in every thing. He was not cold nor dry, as the Earl of Portland was thought to be; who ſeemed to have the art of creating

creating many enemies to himſelf, and not one friend: But the Earl of Albemarle had all the Arts of a Court, was civil to all, and procured many favours. The Earl of Portland obſerved the progreſs of this favour with great uneaſineſs; they grew to be not only incompatible, as all Rivals for favour muſt needs be, but to hate and oppoſe one another in every thing; by which the King's Affairs ſuffered much; the one had more of the confidence, and the other much more of the favour; the King had heaped many Grants on the Earl of Portland, and had ſent him Ambaſſador to France, upon the Peace; where he appeared with great Magnificence, and at a vaſt Expence, and had many very unuſual Reſpects put upon him by that King and all that Court; but upon his return, he could not bear the viſible ſuperiority in favour, that the other was grown up to; ſo he took occaſion, from a ſmall preference that was given him, in prejudice of his own Poſt, as Groom of the Stole, and upon it withdrew from the Court, and laid down all his Employments. The King uſed all poſſible means to divert him from this reſolution, but without prevailing on him; he conſented to ſerve the King ſtill in his affairs, but he would not return to any Poſt in the Houſhold; and not long after that he was employed in the new Negotiation, ſet on foot for the Succeſſion to the Crown of Spain. 1699.

The Death of the Duke of Bolton.

This year died the Marquis of Wincheſter, whom the King had created Duke of Bolton; he was a man of a ſtrange mixture; he had the Spleen to a high degree, and affected an extravagant behaviour; for many weeks he would take a conceit not to ſpeak one word; and at other times, he would not open his mouth, till ſuch an hour of the day, when he thought the Air was pure; he changed the day into night, and often hunted by torch light, and took all ſorts of Liberties to himſelf, many of which

1699. were very disagreeable to those about him. In the end of King Charles's time, and during King James's reign, he affected an appearance of folly, which afterwards he compared to Junius Brutus's behaviour under the Tarquins. With all this, he was a very knowing, and a very crafty politick man; and was an artful Flatterer, when that was necessary to compass his end, in which generally he was successful: He was a man of a profuse expence, and of a most ravenous avarice to support that; and though he was much hated, yet he carried matters before him with such authority and success, that he was in all respects, the great Riddle of the age.

And of Sir Josiah Child.

This Summer, Sir Josiah Child died; he was a man of great Notions as to Merchandize, which was his Education, and in which he succeeded beyond any man of his time: He applied himself chiefly to the East-India Trade, which by his management was raised so high, that it drew much envy and jealousy both upon himself and upon the Company; he had a compass of knowledge and apprehension, beyond any Merchant I ever knew; he was vain and covetous, and thought too cunning, though to me he seemed always sincere.

The Archbishop of Cambray's Book condemned.

The Complaints that the Court of France sent to Rome, against the Archbishop of Cambray's Book, procured a Censure from thence; but he gave such a ready and entire submission to it, that how much soever that may have lessened him, in some mens Opinions, yet it quite defeated the designs of his enemies against him: Upon this occasion, it appeared how much both the Clergy of France, and the Courts of Parliament there, were sunk from that firmness, which they had so long maintained against the encroachment of the Court of Rome; not so much as one person of those bodies has set himself to assert those Liberties, upon which they had so

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long valued themſelves; the whole Clergy ſubmit- 1699.
ed to the Bull, the King himſelf received it, and the Parliament regiſtred it: We do not yet know, by what methods and practices this was obtained at the Court of Rome, nor what are the diſtinctions, by which they ſave the Doctrine of ſo many of their Saints, while they condemn this Archbiſhop's Book; for it is not eaſy to perceive a difference between them: From the concluſion of this Proceſs at Rome, I turn to another, againſt a Biſhop of our own Church, that was brought to a ſentence and concluſion this Summer.

The Biſhop of St. David's deprived for Simony.

Dr. Watſon was promoted by King James to the Biſhoprick of St. David's; it was believed that he gave money for his advancement, and that, in order to the reimburſing himſelf, he ſold moſt of the ſpiritual Preferments in his Gift: By the Law and Cuſtom of this Church, the Archbiſhop is the only Judge of a Biſhop, but, upon ſuch occaſions, he calls for the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Biſhops; he called for ſix in this cauſe; I was one of them; it was proved, that the Biſhop had collated a Nephew of his to a great many of the beſt Preferments in his Gift, and that, for many years, he had taken the whole profits of theſe to himſelf, keeping his Nephew very poor, and obliging him to perform no part of his duty: It was alſo proved, that the Biſhop obtained leave to keep a Benefice, which he held before his Promotion, by a Commendam (one of the abuſes which the Popes brought in among us, from which we have not been able hitherto to free our Church) that he had ſold both the Cure, and the Profits to a Clergyman, for a ſum of money, and had obliged himſelf to reſign it upon demand; that is, as ſoon as the Clergyman could, by another ſum, purchaſe the next preſentation of the Patron: Theſe things were fully proved. To theſe, was added a charge of many oppreſſive Fees, which being

1699. being taken for Benefices that were in his Gift, were not only Extortion, but a preſumptive Simony: All theſe he had taken himſelf, without making uſe of a Regiſter or Actuary; for as he would not truſt thoſe ſecrets to any other, ſo he ſwallowed up the Fees, both of his Chancellor and Regiſter: He had alſo ordained many perſons, without tendring them the Oaths enjoined by Law, and yet, in their Letters of Orders, he had certified under his Hand and Seal, that they had taken thoſe Oaths; this was, what the Law calls Crimen falſi, the certifying that, which he knew to be falſe: No exceptions lay to the Witneſſes, by whom theſe things were made out, nor did the Biſhop bring any proofs, on his ſide, to contradict their Evidence: Some affirmed, that he was a ſober and regular man, and that he ſpoke often of Simony, with ſuch deteſtation, that they could not think him capable of committing it. The Biſhop of Rocheſter withdrew from the Court, on the day in which Sentence was to be given; he conſented to a ſuſpenſion, but he did not think that a Biſhop could be deprived by the Archbiſhop. When the Court ſat to give Judgment, the Biſhop reſumed his Privilege of Peerage, and pleaded it; but he, having waved it in the Houſe of Lords, and having gone on ſtill ſubmitting to the Court, no regard was had to this, ſince a Plea to the Juriſdiction of the Court, was to be offered in the firſt inſtance, but could not be kept up to the laſt, and then be made uſe of. The Biſhops, that were preſent, agreed to a ſentence of Deprivation: I went further, and thought that he ought to be excommunicated. He was one of the worſt men, in all reſpects, that ever I knew in Holy Orders: paſſionate, covetous, and falſe in the blackeſt inſtances; without any one virtue or good quality, to balance his many bad ones. But, as he was advanced by King James, ſo he ſtuck firm to

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that Intereſt; and the Party, tho' aſhamed of him, yet were reſolved to ſupport him, with great zeal: He appealed to a Court of Delegates; and they, about the end of the year, confirmed the Archbiſhop's ſentence. Another proſecution followed for Simony, againſt Jones Biſhop of St. Aſaph, in which, tho' the preſumptions were very great, yet the Evidence was not ſo clear, as in the former caſe. The Biſhops in Wales give almoſt all the Benefices in their Dioceſe; ſo this Primitive Conſtitution, that is ſtill preſerved among them, was ſcandalouſly abuſed by ſome wicked men, who ſet holy things to ſale, and thereby increaſed the prejudices, that are but too eaſily received, both againſt Religion and the Church. 1699.

I publiſhed an Expoſition of the Thirty nine Articles.

I publiſhed this year an Expoſition of the Thirty nine Articles of Religion: It ſeemed a Work much wanted, and it was juſtly to be wondered at, that none of our Divines had attempted any ſuch Performance, in a way ſuitable to the dignity of the ſubject: For ſome ſlight Analyſes of them are not worth either mentioning or reading. It was a work that required ſtudy and labour, and laid a man open to many malicious attacks; this made ſome of my friends adviſe me againſt publiſhing it; in compliance with them, I kept it five years by me, after I had finiſhed it: But I was now prevailed on by the Archbiſhop and many of my own Order, beſides a great many others, to delay the publiſhing it no longer. It ſeemed a proper addition to the Hiſtory of the Reformation, to explain and prove the Doctrine, which was then eſtabliſhed. I was moved firſt by the late Queen, and preſſed by the late Archbiſhop to write it: I can appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that I wrote it with great ſincerity and a good intention, and with all the application and care I was capable of. I did then expect, what I have ſince met with, that malicious men would employ both

1699. both their induſtry and ill-nature, to find matter for cenſure and cavils; but tho' there have been ſome Books writ on purpoſe againſt it, and many in Sermons and other Treatiſes have occaſionally reflected, with great ſeverity, upon ſeveral paſſages in it, yet this has been done, with ſo little juſtice or reaſon, that I am not yet convinced, that there is one ſingle period or expreſſion that is juſtly remarked on, or that can give me any occaſion, either to retract, or ſo much as to explain any one part of that whole Work; which I was very ready to have done, if I had ſeen cauſe for it. There was another reaſon, that ſeemed to determine me to the publiſhing it at this time.

The growth of Popery.

Upon the Peace of Ryſwick, a great ſwarm of Prieſts came over to England, not only thoſe, whom the Revolution had frighted away, but many more new men, who appeared in many places with great inſolence; and it was ſaid, that they boaſted of the favour and protection, of which they were aſſured. Some enemies of the Government began to give it out, that the favouring that Religion was a ſecret Article of the Peace; and ſo abſurd is malice and calumny, that the Jacobites began to ſay, that the King was either of that Religion, or at leaſt a favourer of it: Complaints of the avowed practices and inſolence of the Prieſts were brought from ſeveral places, during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and thoſe were maliciouſly aggravated by ſome, who caſt the blame of all on the King.

An Act againſt Papiſts.

Upon this, ſome propoſed a Bill, that obliged all perſons educated in that Religion, or ſuſpected to be of it, who ſhould ſucceed to any Eſtate before they were of the age of eighteen, to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Teſt, as ſoon as they came to that age; and till they did it, the Eſtate was to devolve to the next of kin, that was a Proteſtant; but was to return back to them, upon

on their taking the Oaths. All popiſh Prieſts were also baniſhed by the Bill, and were adjudged to perpetual impriſonment, if they ſhould again return to England; and the reward of an hundred pound was offered to every one, who ſhould diſcover a popiſh Prieſt, ſo as to convict him. Thoſe, who brought this into the Houſe of Commons, hoped, that the Court would have oppoſed it; but the Court promoted the Bill; ſo when the Party ſaw their miſtake, they ſeemed willing to let the Bill fall; and when that could not be done, they clogged it with many ſevere, and ſome unreaſonable clauſes, hoping that the Lords would not paſs the Act; and it was ſaid, that if the Lords ſhould make the leaſt alteration in it, they, in the Houſe of Commons, who had ſet it on, were reſolved to let it lie on their Table, when it ſhould be ſent back to them. Many Lords, who ſecretly favoured Papiſts, on the Jacobite account, did for this very reaſon, move for ſeveral alterations; ſome of theſe importing a greater ſeverity; but the zeal againſt Popery was ſuch in that Houſe, that the Bill paſſed without any amendment, and it had the Royal Aſſent. I was for this Bill, notwithſtanding my Principles for Toleration, and againſt all Perſecution for Conſcience ſake; I had always thought, that if a Government found any Sect in Religion, incompatible with its quiet and ſafety, it might, and ſometimes ought to ſend away all of that Sect, with as little hardſhip as poſſible: It is certain, that as all Papiſts muſt, at all times, be ill ſubjects to a Proteſtant Prince, ſo this is much more to be apprehended, when there is a pretended Popiſh Heir in the caſe: This Act hurt no man, that was in the preſent poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, it only incapacitated his next Heir, to ſucceed to that Eſtate, if he continued a Papiſt; ſo the danger of this, in caſe the Act ſhould be well looked to, would put thoſe of that Religion, who 1699.

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1699. are men of Conſcience, on the ſelling their Eſtates; and in the courſe of a few years, might deliver us from having any Papiſts left among us. But this Act wanted ſeveral neceſſary Clauſes, to enforce the due execution of it; the word "next of kin," was very indefinite, and the "next of kin" was not obliged to claim the benefit of this Act, nor did the Right deſcend to the remoter Heirs, if the more immediate ones ſhould not take the benefit of it; the Teſt, relating to matters of Doctrine and Worſhip, did not ſeem a proper ground for ſo great a ſeverity; ſo this Act was not followed nor executed in any ſort; but here is a Scheme laid, tho' not fully digeſted, which on ſome great provocation given by thoſe of that Religion, may diſpoſe a Parliament to put ſuch Clauſes in a new Act, as may make this effectual.

Affairs in Holſtein.

The King of Denmark was in a viſible decline all this year, and died about the end of Summer. While he was languiſhing, the Duke of Holſtein began to build ſome new Forts in that Dutchy; this the Danes ſaid, was contrary to the Treaties, and to the Condominium, which that King and the Duke have in that Dutchy: The Duke of Holſtein had married the King of Sweden's Siſter, and depended on the aſſurances he had, of being ſupported by that Crown: The young King of Denmark, upon his coming to the Crown, as he complained of theſe Infractions, ſo he entered into an Alliance with the King of Poland, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, and, as was ſaid, with the Landgrave of Heſſe and the Duke of Wolfembuttel, to attack Sweden and Holſtein at once, on all hands. The King of Poland was to invade Livonia; the Elector of Brandenburgh was to fall into the Regal Pomerania, and the other Princes were to keep the Dukes of Zell and Hanover from aſſiſting Holſtein; the King of Denmark himſelf was to attack Holſtein;

but his Father's chief Miniſter and Treaſurer, the Baron Pleſſe, did not like the Concert, and apprehended it would not end well; ſo he withdrew from his Poſt, which he had maintained long, with a high reputation, both for his capacity and integrity; which appeared in this, that, tho' that King's Power is now carried to be abſolute, yet he never ſtretched it to new or oppreſſive Taxes; and therefore ſeeing things were like to take another ply in a new Reign, he reſigned his employment. He was the ableſt and the worthieſt man, that I ever knew belonging to thoſe parts; he was much truſted and employed by Prince George; ſo that I had great opportunities to know him. 1699.

A War raiſed againſt the King of Sweden.

The King of Sweden, ſeeing ſuch a Storm coming upon him from ſo many hands, claimed the Effects of his Alliance with England and Holland, who were Guarantees of the ſeveral Treaties made in the North, particularly of the laſt made at Altena, but ten years before. The Houſe of Lunenburgh was alſo engaged in intereſt, to preſerve Holſtein, as a Barrier between them and Denmark. The King of Poland thought the invaſion of Livonia, which was to be begun with the Siege of Riga, would prove both eaſy and of great advantage to him. Livonia was anciently a Fief of the Crown of Poland, and delivered itſelf for Protection to the Crown of Sweden, by a Capitulation: By that, they were ſtill to enjoy their ancient Liberties; afterwards, the pretenſion of the Crown of Poland was yielded up, about threeſcore years ago; ſo that Livonia was an abſolute but legal Government: Yet the late King of Sweden had treated that principality, in the ſame rough manner, in which he had oppreſſed his other Dominions; ſo it was thought, that the Livonians were diſpoſed (as ſoon as they ſaw a power ready to protect them, and to reſtore them to their former Liberties) to ſhake off the

1699. the Swediſh Yoke; eſpecially, if they ſaw the King attacked in ſo many different places at once.

The King of Poland's deſigns.

The King of Poland had a farther deſign in this Invaſion: He had an Army of Saxons in Poland, to whom he chiefly truſted, in carrying on his Deſigns there; the Poles were become ſo jealous, both of him and of his Saxons, that in a general Diet they had come to very ſevere Reſolutions, in caſe the Saxons were not ſent out of the Kingdom by a prefixed day; that King therefore reckoned, that as the reduction of Livonia had the fair appearance, of recovering the antient inheritance of the Crown; ſo by this means, he would carry the Saxons out of Poland, as was decreed, and yet have them within call: He likewiſe ſtudied to engage thoſe of Lithuania, to join with him in the attempt. His chief dependance was on the Czar, who had aſſured him, that if he could make Peace with the Turk, and keep Azuph, he would aſſiſt him powerfully againſt the Swedes; his deſign being to recover Narva, which is capable of being made a good Port. By this means, he hoped to get into the Baltick, where if he could once ſettle, he would ſoon become an uneaſy Neighbour to all the northern Princes: The King of Poland went into Saxony, to mortgage and ſell his Lands there, and to raiſe as much money, as was poſſible, for carrying on this War; and he brought the Electorate to ſo low a ſtate, that if his Deſigns in Poland miſcarry, and if he is driven back into Saxony, he who was the richeſt Prince of the Empire, will become one of the pooreſt. But the Amuſements of Balls and Operas conſumed ſo much, both of his Time and Treaſure, that whereas the Deſign was laid to ſurprize Riga, in the middle of the Winter, he did not begin his attempt upon it, before the end of February, and theſe Deſigns went no farther this year.

While

While the King was at Loo this Summer, a new Treaty was ſet on foot, concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown of Spain; The King and the States of the United Provinces ſaw the danger, to which they would be expoſed, if they ſhould engage in a new War, while we were yet under the vaſt Debts, that the former had brought upon us; The King's Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons aſſured him, that it would be a very difficult thing to bring them, to enter into a new War, for maintaining the rights of the Houſe of Auſtria. During the Debates concerning the Army, when ſome mentioned the danger of that Monarchy falling into the hands of a Prince of the houſe of Bourbon, it was ſet up for a maxim, that it would be of no conſequence to the affairs of Europe, who was King of Spain, whether a Frenchman or a German; And that as ſoon as the Succeſſor ſhould come within Spain, he would become a true Spaniard, and be governed by the Maxims and Intereſts of that Crown; So that there was no proſpect of being able to infuſe into the Nation an apprehenſion of the conſequence of that Succeſſion. The Emperor had a very good claim; but as he had little ſtrength to ſupport it by Land, ſo he had none at all by Sea; and his Treaſure was quite exhauſted, by his long War with the Turk: The French drew a great Force towards the Frontiers of Spain, and they were reſolved to march into it, upon that King's death: There was no ſtrength ready to oppoſe them, yet they ſeemed willing to compound the matter; But they ſaid, the conſideration muſt be very valuable, that could make them deſiſt from ſo great a Pretenſion; and both the King and the States thought it was a good Bargain, if, by yielding up ſome of the leſs important branches of that Monarchy, they could ſave thoſe in which they were moſt concerned, which were Spain itſelf, the Weſt-Indies, and the Netherlands. The French ſeemed willing to ac-

1699. The Partition Treaty.

1699. cept of the Dominions in and about Italy, with a part of the Kingdom of Navarre, and to yield up the reſt to the Emperor's ſecond Son, the Archduke Charles; The Emperor entred into the Treaty, for he ſaw he could not hope to carry the whole Succeſſion entire; but he preſſed to have the Dutchy of Milan added to his hereditary Dominions in Germany; The expedient that the King propoſed was, that the Duke of Lorrain ſhould have the Dutchy of Milan, and that France ſhould accept of Lorrain inſtead of it; He was the Emperor's Nephew, and would be entirely in his Intereſts. The Emperor did not agree to this, but yet he preſſed the King, not to give over the Treaty, and to try if he could make a better Bargain for him; above all things he recommended Secrecy, for he well knew how much the Spaniards would be offended, if any Treaty ſhould be owned, that might bring on a diſmembring of their Monarchy; for tho' they were taking no care to preſerve it, in the whole or in part, yet they could not bear the having any branch torn from it. The King reckoned that the Emperor, with the other Princes of Italy, might have ſo much intereſt in Rome, as to ſtop the Pope's giving the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of Naples; And which way ſoever that matter might end, it would oblige the Pope to ſhew great partiality, either to the Houſe of Auſtria or the Houſe of Bourbon; which might occaſion a breach among them, with other conſequences, that might be very happy to the whole Proteſtant Intereſt: Any War, that might follow in Italy, would be at great diſtance from us, and in a Country, that we had no reaſon to regard much; Beſides, that the Fleets of England and Holland muſt come, in concluſion, to be the Arbiters of the matter.

Theſe were the King's ſecret motives; For I had moſt of them from his own mouth: The French conſented to this Scheme, and if the Emperor

peror would have agreed to it, his Son the Arch-duke was immediately to go to Spain, to be considered as the Heir of that Crown: By these Articles, signed both by the King of France and the Dauphin, they bound themselves, not to accept of any Will, Testament, or Donation, contrary to this Treaty, which came to be called the Partition Treaty. I had the Original in my hands, which the Dauphin signed; The French and the Emperor tried their strength in the Court of Spain; It is plain, the Emperor trusted too much to his Interest in that Court, and in that King himself; And he refused to accept of the Partition, meerly to ingratiate himself with them; otherwise, it was not doubted, but that, seeing the impossibility of mending matters, he would have yielded to the necessity of his affairs. The French did, in a most perfidious manner, study to alienate the Spaniards from their Allies, by shewing them to how great a diminution of their Monarchy they had consented; So that no way possible was left, for them to keep those Dominions still united to their Crown, but by accepting the Duke of Anjou to be their King, with whom all should be again restored. The Spaniards complained in the Courts of their Allies, in ours in particular, of this Partition, as a detestable Project; which was to rob them of those Dominions, that belonged to their Crown, and ought not to be torn from it. No mention was made of this, during the Session of Parliament, for tho' the thing was generally believed, yet it not being publickly owned, no notice could be taken of bare Reports; and nothing was to be done, in pursuance of this Treaty, during the King of Spain's Life. 1699.

In Scotland, all men were full of hopes, that their new Colony should bring them home mountains of Gold; The Proclamations, sent to Jamaica and to the other English Plantations, were much complained of, as acts of Hostility and a The affairs of Scotland.

1699. Violation of the common Rights of humanity; These had a great effect on them, tho' without these, that Colony was too weak and too ill supplied, as well as too much divided within itself, to have subsisted long; Those, who had first possessed themselves of it, were forced to abandon it: Soon after they had gone from it, a second Recruit of Men and Provisions was sent thither from Scotland; But one of their Ships unhappily took Fire, in which they had the greatest stock of Provisions; And so these likewise went off: And tho' the third Reinforcement, that soon followed this, was both stronger and better furnished, yet they fell into such Factions among themselves, that they were too weak to resist the Spaniards, who feeble as they were, yet saw the necessity of attacking them: And they finding themselves unable to resist the Force, which was brought against them, capitulated; and with that the whole Design fell to the ground, partly for want of stock and skill in those who managed it, and partly by the baseness and treachery of those whom they imployed.

Great discontent upon the fall of Darien.

The conduct of the King's Ministers in Scotland was much censured, in the whole progress of this affair; For they had connived at it, if not encouraged it, in hopes that the Design would fall of itself; but now it was not so easy, to cure the universal discontent, which the miscarriage of this Design, to the impoverishing the whole Kingdom, had raised, and which now began to spread like a Contagion, among all sorts of people. A Petition for a present Session of Parliament was immediately sent about the Kingdom, and was signed by many thousands: This was sent up by some of the chief of their Nobility, whom the King received very coldly: Yet a Session of Parliament was granted them, to which the Duke of Queensbury was sent down Commissioner. Great pains were taken, by all sorts of practices, to be sure of

of a Majority: Great offers were made them in order to lay the diſcontents, which ran then very high; A Law for a Habeas Corpus, with a great Freedom for Trade, and every thing, that they could demand, was offered, to perſuade them to deſiſt from purſuing the deſign upon Darien. The Court had tried, to get the Parliament of England to interpoſe in that matter, and to declare themſelves againſt that Undertaking. The Houſe of Lords was prevailed on, to make an Addreſs to the King, repreſenting the ill effects that they apprehended from that Settlement; But this did not ſignify much, for as it was carried in that Houſe by a ſmall Majority of ſeven or eight, ſo it was laid aſide by the Houſe of Commons. Some were not ill pleaſed, to ſee the King's affairs run into an embroilment; And others did apprehend, that there was a Deſign to involve the two Kingdoms, in a National quarrel, that by ſuch an artifice, a greater Army might be raiſed, and kept up on both ſides: So they let that matter fall, nor would they give any entertainment to a Bill, that was ſent them by the Lords, in order to a Treaty for the Union of both Kingdoms. The managers in the Houſe of Commons, who oppoſed the Court, reſolved to do nothing, that ſhould provoke Scotland, or that ſhould take any part of the blame and general diſcontent, that foured that Nation, off from the King: It was further given out, to raiſe the National diſguſt yet higher, that the oppoſition the King gave to the Scotch Colony, flowed neither from a regard to the Intereſts of England, nor to the Treaties with Spain, but from a care of the Dutch, who from Curaſoe drove a coaſting Trade, among the Spaniſh Plantations, with great advantage; which, they ſaid, the Scotch Colony, if once well ſettled, would draw wholly from them. Theſe things were ſet about that Nation with great induſtry; The management was chiefly 1699.

1699. in the hands of Jacobites; Neither the King nor his Miniſters were treated with the decencies, that are ſometimes obſerved, even after Subjects have run to Arms: The keeneſt of their rage was plainly pointed at the King himſelf; Next him the Earl of Portland, who had ſtill the direction of their affairs, had a large ſhare of it. In the Seſſion of Parliament, it was carried by a Vote, to make the affair of Darien a national concern: Upon that, the Seſſion was for ſome time diſcontinued. When the news of the tota' abandoning of Darien was brought over, it cannot be well expreſſed, into how bad a temper this caſt the body of that people: They had now loſt almoſt two hundred thouſand pounds Sterling, upon this Project, beſides all the imaginary treaſure, they had promiſed themſelves from it: So the Nation was raiſed into a ſort of a fury upon it, and in the firſt heat of that, a remonſtrance was ſent about the Kingdom for hands, repreſenting to the King, the neceſſity of a preſent ſitting of the Parliament, which was drawn in ſo high a ſtrain, as if they had reſolved to purſue the effects of it, by an armed Force. It was ſigned by a great Majority of the Members of Parliament; and the ferment in mens ſpirits was raiſed ſo high, that few thought it could have been long curbed, without breaking forth into great extremities.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The King ſtay'd beyond Sea till November: Many expected to ſee a new Parliament; For the King's Speech at the end of the former Seſſion looked like a Complaint, and an Appeal to the Nation againſt them; He ſeemed inclined to it, but his Miniſters would not venture on it: The diſſolving a Parliament in anger has always caſt ſuch a load on thoſe, who were thought to have adviſed it, that few have been able to ſtand it; beſides, the diſbanding the Army had render'd the Members, who promoted it, very popular to the Nation; So that they would have ſent up the

same men, and it was thought that there was little occasion for heat in another Session: But those who opposed the King, resolved to force a change of the Ministry upon him; They were seeking Colours for this, and thought they had found one, with which they had made much noise: It was this. 1699.

A Complaint made of some Pirates.

Some Pirates had got together in the Indian Seas, and robbed some of the Mogul's Ships, in particular one, that he was sending with Presents to Mecca; most of them were English: The East-India Company, having represented the danger of the Mogul's taking Reprisals of them, for these Losses, it appeared that there was a necessity of destroying those Pirates, who were harbouring themselves in some creeks in Madagascar. So a Man of War was to be set out to destroy them, and one Kid was pitched upon, who knew their haunts, and was thought a proper man for the service: But there was not a Fund, to bear the charge of this; For the Parliament had so appropriated the money given for the Sea, that no part of it could be applied to this expedition. The King proposed the managing it, by a private undertaking, and said he would lay down three thousand pounds himself, and recommended it to his Ministers, to find out the rest: In compliance with this, the Lord Somers, the Earls of Orford, Rumney, Bellamount, and some others contributed the whole expence; For the King excused himself, by reason of other accidents, and did not advance the sum, that he had promised: Lord Somers understood nothing of the matter, and left it wholly to the management of others, so that he never saw Kid, only he thought it became the Post he was in, to concur in such a publick Service. A Grant was made to the Undertakers, of all that should be taken from those Pirates, by their Ship. Here was a handle for Complaint, for as it was against Law, to take a Grant of the

1699. Goods of any Offenders before Conviction, ſo a parity between that and this caſe was urged; but without any reaſon: The Proviſions of Law being very different, in the caſe of Pirates and that of other Criminals. The former cannot be attacked, but in the way of War; and therefore ſince thoſe, who undertook this, muſt run a great riſque in executing it, it was reaſonable, and according to the Law of War, that they ſhould have a right to all, that they found in the Enemies hands; whereas thoſe, who ſeize common Offenders, have ſuch a ſtrength by the Law, to aſſiſt them, and incur ſo little danger in doing it, that no juſt inference can be drawn from the one caſe to the other. When this Kid was thus ſet out, he turned Pirate himſelf; So a heavy load was caſt on the Miniſtry, chiefly on him, who was at the head of the Juſtice of the Nation. It was ſaid, he ought not to have engaged in ſuch a Project; And it was maliciouſly inſinuated, that the Privateer turned Pirate, in confidence of the protection of thoſe, who imployed him, if he had not ſecret Orders from them for what he did. Such black conſtructions are men, who are engaged in Parties, apt to make of the actions of thoſe, whom they intend to diſgrace, even againſt their own Conſciences: So that an Undertaking, that was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a deſign for Robbery and Piracy. This was urged in the Houſe of Commons as highly criminal, for which all, who were concerned in it, ought to be turned out of their Imployments; and a Queſtion was put upon it, but it was rejected by a great Majority. The next attempt was to turn me out from the Truſt of Educating the Duke of Gloceſter: Some objected my being a Scotchman, others remember'd the Book that was ordered to be burnt; So they preſſed an Addreſs to the King, for removing me from that Poſt; but this was likewiſe loſt by the ſame Majority, that had carried the former

Vote,

Vote. The pay for the ſmall Army, and the expence of the Fleet, were ſettled: And a Fund was given for it; Yet thoſe, who had reduced the Army, thought it needleſs to have ſo great a Force at Sea; They provided only for eight thouſand men. This was moved by the Tories, and the Whigs readily gave way to this reduction, becauſe the Fleet was now in another management; Ruſſel (now Earl of Orford) with his friends being laid aſide, and a ſet of Tories being brought into their places. 1699.

The great buſineſs of this Seſſion was the Report brought from Ireland, by four of the ſeven Commiſſioners, that were ſent by Parliament, to examine into the Confiſcations, and the Grants made of them. Three of the ſeven refuſed to ſign it, becauſe they thought it falſe, and ill grounded in many particulars, of which they ſent over an account to both Houſes; But no regard was had to that, nor was any enquiry made into their objections to the Report. Theſe three were looked on, as men gained by the Court; And the reſt were magnified, as men that could not be wrought on, nor frighted from their duty. They had proceeded like Inquiſitors, and did readily believe every thing, that was offered to them, that tended to inflame the Report; as they ſuppreſſed all, that was laid before them, that contradicted their deſign, of repreſenting the value of the Grants as very high, and of ſhewing how undeſerving thoſe were, who had obtained them: There was ſo much truth, in the main of this, that no Complaints againſt their proceedings could be hearkned to; And indeed, all the methods that were taken, to diſgrace the Report, had the quite contrary effect: They repreſented the Confiſcated Eſtates to be ſuch, that out of the Sale of them, a Million and a half might be raiſed; So this ſpecious Propoſition, for diſcharging ſo great a part of 1700. Debates concerning Eſtates in Ireland.

1700. of the publick Debt, took with the Houſe; The hatred, into which the Favourites were fallen, among whom and their Creatures the Grants were chiefly diſtributed, made the motion go the quicker. All the oppoſition that was made, in the whole progreſs of this matter, was looked on as a courting the men in favour; nor was any regard paid to the reſerve of a third part, to be diſpoſed of by the King, which had been in the Bill that was ſent up eight years before to the Lords. When this was mentioned, it was anſwered, that the Grantees had enjoyed thoſe Eſtates ſo many years, that the mean profits did ariſe to more than a third part of their value: Little regard alſo was ſhewn to the Purchaſes made under thoſe Grants, and to the great improvements, made by the Purchaſers or Tenants, which were ſaid to have doubled the value of thoſe Eſtates. All that was ſaid, on that head, made no impreſſion, and was ſcarce heard with patience: Yet, that ſome juſtice might be done both to Purchaſers and Creditors, a number of Truſtees were named, in whom all the confiſcated Eſtates were veſted, and they had a very great and uncontroulable Authority lodged with them, of hearing and determining all juſt claims, relating to thoſe Eſtates, and of ſelling them to the beſt Purchaſers; And the money to be raiſed by this Sale, was appropriated to pay the Arrears of the Army. When all this was digeſted into a Bill, the Party apprehended, that many Petitions would be offered to the Houſe, which the Court would probably encourage, on deſign at leaſt to retard their proceedings: So, to prevent this, and that they might not loſe too much time, nor clog the Bill with too many Clauſes and Proviſo's, they paſſed a Vote of a very extraordinary nature; That they would receive no Petitions, relating to the matter of this Bill. The Caſe of the Earl of Athlone's Grant was very ſingular; The Houſe of Commons had been ſo ſenſible of his good ſervice,

An Act veſting them in Truſtees.

vice, in reducing Ireland, that they had made an Addreſs to the King, to give him a recompence, ſuitable to his Services: And the Parliament of Ireland was ſo ſenſible of their obligations to him, that they, as was formerly told, confirmed his Grant, of between two and three thouſand pounds a year. He had ſold it to thoſe, who thought they purchaſed under an unqueſtionable Title, yet all that was now ſet aſide, no regard being had to it; So that this Eſtate was thrown into the heap. Some Exceptions were made, in the Bill, in favour of ſome Grants, and Proviſion was made for rewarding others, whom the King, as they thought, had not enough conſidered. Great oppoſition was made to this by ſome, who thought that all Favours and Grants ought to be given by the King, and not originally by a Houſe of Parliament; and this was managed with great heat, even by ſome of thoſe, who concurred in carrying on the Bill: In concluſion it was, by a new term as well as a new invention, conſolidated with the Money Bill, that was to go for the pay of the Fleet and Army, and ſo it came up to the Houſe of Lords; which by conſequence they muſt either paſs or reject. The method, that the Court took in that Houſe to oppoſe it, was, to offer ſome Alterations, that were indeed very juſt and reaſonable; but ſince the Houſe of Commons would not ſuffer the Lords to alter Money Bills, this was in effect to loſe it. The Court, upon ſome previous Votes, found they had a Majority among the Lords; So, for ſome days, it ſeemed to be deſigned to loſe the Bill, and to venture on a Prorogation or a Diſſolution, rather than paſs it. Upon the apprehenſions of this, the Commons were beginning to fly out into high Votes, both againſt the Miniſters and the Favourites; The Lord Somers was attack'd a ſecond time, but was brought off by a greater Majority, than had appeared for him, at the beginning of the Seſſion. During the Debates about the Bill, he 1700.

1700. he was ill; And the worſt conſtruction poſſible was put on that; it was ſaid, he adviſed all the oppoſition that was made to it, in the Houſe of Lords, but that, to keep himſelf out of it, he feigned that he was ill: Tho' his great attendance in the Court of Chancery, the Houſe of Lords, and at the Council Table, had ſo impaired his health, that every year, about that time, he uſed to be brought very low, and diſabled from buſineſs. The King ſeemed reſolved, to venture on all the ill conſequences, that might follow the loſing this Bill; tho' thoſe would probably have been fatal. As far as we could judge, either another Seſſion of that Parliament, or a new One, would have baniſhed the Favourites, and begun the Bill anew, with the addition of obliging the Grantees, to refund all the mean profits: Many in the Houſe of Lords, that in all other things were very firm to the King, were for paſſing this Bill, notwithſtanding the King's earneſtneſs againſt it, ſince they apprehended the ill conſequences, that were like to follow, if it was loſt. I was one of theſe, and the King was much diſpleaſed with me for it: I ſaid, I would venture his diſpleaſure, rather than pleaſe him in that, which I feared would be the ruin of his Government: I confeſs, I did not at that time apprehend, what injuſtice lay under many of the Clauſes in the Bill, which appeared afterwards ſo evidently, that the very ſame perſons, who drove on the Bill, were convinced of them, and redreſſed ſome of them in Acts, that paſſed in ſubſequent Seſſions: If I had underſtood that matter aright and in time, I had never given my Vote for ſo unjuſt a Bill. I only conſidered it as a hardſhip put on the King, many of his Grants being thus made void; ſome of which had not been made on good and reaſonable conſiderations, ſo that they could hardly be excuſed, much leſs juſtified; I thought the thing was a ſort of force, to which it ſeemed reaſonable to give way, at that time,

time, since we were not furnished with an equal strength, to withstand it: But when I saw afterwards, what the consequences of this Act proved to be, I did firmly resolve, never to consent again to any tack to a Money Bill, as long as I lived. The King became sullen upon all this, and upon the many incidents, that are apt to fall in upon Debates of this nature: He either did not apprehend, in what such things might end, or he was not much concerned at it: His resentment, which was much provoked, broke out into some instances, which gave such handles to his Enemies, as they wished for; and they improved those advantages, which his ill conduct gave them, with much spite and industry, so as to alienate the Nation from him. It was once in agitation among the Party, to make an Address to him, against going beyond Sea, but even that was diverted, with a malicious design. Hitherto the Body of the Nation retained a great measure of affection to him; This was beginning to diminish, by his going so constantly beyond Sea, as soon as the Session of Parliament was ended; tho' the War was now over. Upon this, it grew to be publickly said, that he loved no Englishman's face, nor his company: So his Enemies reckoned it was fit for their ends, to let that prejudice go on, and encrease in the minds of the people; till they might find a proper occasion, to graft some bad designs upon it. The Session ended in April; Men of all sides, being put into a very ill humour by the proceedings in it. 1700.

A change in the Ministry.

The Leaders of the Tories began to insinuate to the Favourites, the necessity of the King's changing his Ministry, in particular of removing the Lord Somers, who, as he was now considered as the Head of the Whigs, so his wise Counsels, and his modest way of laying them before the King, had gained him a great share of his esteem and confidence; and it was reckoned, that the chief strength of the Party lay in his credit with

1700. the King, and in the prudent methods he took to govern the Party, and to moderate that heat and thoſe jealouſies, with which the King had been ſo long diſguſted, in the firſt years of his Reign. In the Houſe of Commons, he had been particularly charged, for turning many Gentlemen out of the Commiſſion of the Peace: This was much aggravated, and raiſed a very high complaint againſt him; but there was no juſt cauſe for it: When the deſign of the Aſſaſſination and Invaſion, in the year 1695 and 1696 was diſcovered, a voluntary Aſſociation was entered into, by both Houſes of Parliament, and that was ſet round the Nation: In ſuch a time of danger, it was thought, that thoſe, who did not enter voluntarily into it, were ſo ill affected, or at leaſt ſo little zealous for the King, that it was not fit, they ſhould continue Juſtices of Peace: So an Order paſſed in Council, that all thoſe, who had ſo refuſed, ſhould be turned out of the Commiſſion: He had obeyed this Order, upon the repreſentations made to him, by the Lords Lieutenants and the Cuſtodes Rotulorum of the ſeveral Counties, who were not all equally diſcreet: Yet he laid thoſe repreſentations before the Council, and had a ſpecial Order, for every perſon, that was ſo turned out. All this was now magnified, and it was charged on him, that he had adviſed and procured theſe Orders, yet this could not be made ſo much as a colour to proceed againſt him, a clamour and murmuring was all that could be raiſed from it. But now the Tories ſtudied to get it infuſed into the King, that all the hard things, that had been of late put on him by the Parliament, were occaſioned by the hatred, that was born to his Miniſters; and that if he would change hands, and imploy others, matters might be ſoftned and mended in another Parliament: With this the Earl of Jerſey ſtudied to poſſeſs the Earl of Albemarle; and the uneaſineſs the King was in, diſpoſed him to think, that if he ſhould bring in a ſet

a ſet of Tories, into his buſineſs, they would ſerve him with the ſame zeal, and with better ſucceſs, than the Whigs had done; and he hoped to throw all upon the Miniſters, that were now to be diſmiſſed. 1700.

The firſt time that the Lord Somers had recovered ſo much health, as to come to Court, the King told him, it ſeemed neceſſary for his ſervice, that he ſhould part with the Seals, and he wiſhed, that he would make the delivering them up his own Act: He excuſed himſelf in this; all his Friends had preſſed him, not to offer them, ſince that ſeemed to ſhew fear or guilt: So he begged the King's pardon, if in this he followed their advice; but he told the King that, whenſoever he ſhould ſend a Warrant under his hand, commanding him to deliver them up, he would immediately obey it: The Order was brought by Lord Jerſey, and upon it the Seals were ſent to the King. Thus the Lord Somers was diſcharged from this great Office, which he had held ſeven years, with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, and diligence: He was in all reſpects the greateſt Man I had ever known in that Poſt; His being thus removed, was much cenſured by all, but thoſe who had procured it: Our Princes uſed not to diſmiſs Miniſters, who ſerved them well, unleſs they were preſſed to it by a Houſe of Commons, that refuſed to give money, till they were laid aſide. But here a Miniſter (who was always vindicated by a great Majority in the Houſe of Commons, when he was charged there, and who had ſerved both with fidelity and ſucceſs, and was indeed cenſured for nothing ſo much, as for his being too compliant with the King's humour and notions, or at leaſt for being too ſoft or too feeble in repreſenting his errors to him) was removed without a ſhadow of complaint againſt him. This was done with ſo much haſte, that thoſe, who had prevailed with the King to do it, had not yet concerted, who ſhould ſucceed him: They

The Lord Somers is turned out.

1700. They thought, that all the great Men of the Law were aſpiring to that high Poſt, ſo that any one, to whom it ſhould be offered, would certainly accept of it: But they ſoon found they were miſtaken; for what, by reaſon of the inſtability of the Court, what by reaſon of the juſt apprehenſions men might have, of ſucceeding ſo great a man, both Holt and Trevor, to whom the Seals were offered, excuſed themſelves. It was Term-time, ſo a vacancy in that Poſt put things in ſome confuſion. A temporary Commiſſion was granted, to the three Chief Judges, to judge in the Court of Chancery; and after a few days, the Seals were given to Sir Nathan Wright, in whom there was nothing equal to the Poſt, much leſs to him, who had lately filled it. The King's inclinations ſeemed now turned to the Tories, and to a new Parliament: It was for ſome time in the dark, who had the Confidence, and gave directions to affairs: We, who looked on, were often diſpoſed to think, that there was no direction at all, but that every thing was left to take its courſe, and that all was given up to hazard.

A Fleet ſent to the Sound.

The King, that he might give ſome content to the Nation, ſtay'd at Hampton-Court till July, and then went to Holland: But before he went, the Miniſter of Sweden preſſed him to make good his engagements with that Crown; Riga was now beſieged by the King of Poland: The firſt attempt, of carrying the place by ſurprize, miſcarried; thoſe of Riga were either over-awed by the Swediſh Garriſon that commanded there, or they apprehended, that the change of Maſters would not change their condition, unleſs it were for the worſe: So they made a greater ſtand, than was expected; and in a Siege of above eight months, very little progreſs was made: The firmneſs of that place, made the reſt of Livonia continue fixt to the Swedes: The Saxons made great waſte in the Country, and ruined the Trade of Riga: The King

King of Sweden, being obliged to imploy his main Force elſewhere, was not able to ſend them any conſiderable aſſiſtance: The Elector of Brandenburg lay quiet, without making any attempt: So did the Princes of Heſſe and Wolfembuttle. The two ſcenes of Action were in Holſtein, and before Copenhagen. The King of Denmark found the taking the Forts, that had been raiſed by the Duke of Holſtein, an eaſy work; they were ſoon carried and demoliſhed: He beſieged Toninghen next, which held him longer. Upon the Swedes demand of the Auxiliary Fleets, that were ſtipulated, both by the King and the States, Orders were given for equipping them here, and likewiſe in Holland: The King was not willing to communicate this deſign to the two Houſes, and try if the Houſe of Commons would take upon themſelves the Expence of the Fleet: They were in ſo bad a humour, that the King apprehended, that ſome of them might endeavour to put an affront upon him, and oppoſe the ſending a Fleet into the Sound: Tho' others adviſed the venturing on this, for no Nation can ſubſiſt without Alliances ſacredly obſerved: And this was an ancient one, lately renewed by the King; ſo that an oppoſition in ſuch a point, muſt have turned to the prejudice of thoſe who ſhould move it. Soon after the Seſſion, a Fleet of thirty Ships Engliſh and Dutch, was ſent to the Baltick, commanded by Rook: The Danes had a good Fleet at Sea, much ſuperior to the Swedes, and almoſt equal to the Fleet ſent from hence: But it was their whole ſtrength, ſo they would not run the hazard of loſing it: They kept at Sea for ſome time, having got between the Swedes and the Fleet of their Allies, and ſtudied to hinder their conjunction: When they ſaw that could not be done, they retired, and ſecured themſelves within the Port of Copenhagen, which is a very ſtrong one: The Swedes, with their Allies, came before that Town and bombarded it for 1700.

1700. ſome days, but with little damage to the Place, and none to the Fleet. The Dukes of Lunenburgh, together with the Forces, that the Swedes had at Bremen, paſſed the Elbe, and marched to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Holſtein: This obliged the Danes, to raiſe the Siege of Toninghen, and the two Armies lay in view of one another, for ſome weeks, without coming to any Action: Another deſign of the Danes did alſo miſcarry. A Body of Saxons broke into the Territories of the Duke of Brunſwick, in hopes to force their Army to come back, to the defence of their own Country: But the Duke of Zell had left things in ſo good order, that the Saxons were beat back, and all the booty that they had taken, was recovered.

Peace between Denmark and Sweden.

In the mean time, the King offered his Mediation, and a Treaty was ſet on foot: The two young Kings were ſo much ſharpned againſt one another, that it was not eaſy to bring them to hearken to terms of Peace. The King of Denmark propoſed, that the King of Poland might be included in the Treaty, but the Swedes refuſed it: And the King was not Guarantee of the Treaties between Sweden and Poland, ſo he was not obliged to take care of the King of Poland: The Treaty went on but ſlowly; this made the King of Sweden apprehend, that he ſhould loſe the Seaſon, and be forced to abandon Riga, which began to be ſtraitned: So to quicken the Treaty, he reſolved on a Deſcent in Zealand. This was executed, without any oppoſition, the King of Sweden conducting it in perſon, and being the firſt that landed: He ſhewed ſuch ſpirit and courage in his whole Conduct, as raiſed his Character very high: It ſtruck a terror thro' all Denmark: For now the Swedes reſolved to beſiege Copenhagen. This did ſo quicken the Treaty, that by the middle of Auguſt it was brought to a full end: old Treaties were renewed, and a liberty of fortifying was reſerved

ſerved for Holſtein, under ſome limitations: and the King of Denmark paid the Duke of Holſtein two hundred and ſixty thouſand rix-dollars for the charge of the War. The Peace being thus made, the Swedes retired back to Schonen: and the Fleets of England and Holland returned home. The King's Conduct, in this whole matter, was highly applauded; he effectually protected the Swedes, and yet obliged them to accept of reaſonable terms of Peace: The King of Denmark ſuffered moſt in honour and intereſt: It was a great happineſs, that this War was ſo ſoon at an end; for if it had continued, all the North muſt have engaged in it, and there the chief ſtrength of the Proteſtant Religion lay: ſo that Intereſt muſt have ſuffered much, which ſide ſoever had come by the worſt, in the progreſs of the War: and it is already ſo weak, that it needed not a new diminution. 1700.

Cenſures paſt on the Partition Treaty.

The ſecret of the Partition Treaty was now publiſhed; and the Project was to be offered jointly, by the Miniſters of France, England, and the States, to all the Princes of Europe, but particularly to thoſe, who were moſt concerned in it; and an Anſwer was to be demanded, by a day limited for it. The Emperor refuſed to declare himſelf, till he knew the King of Spain's mind concerning it: The Duke of Savoy, and the Princes of Italy, were very apprehenſive of the neighbourhood of France: The Pope was extreme old, and declined very faſt. The Treaty was variouſly cenſured: Some thought it would deliver up the Mediterranean Sea, and all our Trade there, into the hands of France: Others thought, that the Treaties of Princes were (according to the pattern, that the Court of France had ſet now for almoſt half an age) only artifices to bring matters to a preſent quiet, and that they would be afterwards obſerved, as Princes found their account in them. The preſent good underſtanding, that was between our Court and the Court of France, made, that the

1700. Party of our Mal contents at home, having no support from thence, ſunk much in their heat, and they had now no proſpect; for it ſeemed, as if the King of France had ſet his heart on the Partition Treaty, and it was neceſſary for him, in order to the obtaining his ends in it, to live in a good Correſpondence with England and the States: All our hopes were, that the King of Spain might yet live a few years longer, till the great Mortgages, that were on the Revenue, might be cleared, and then it would be more eaſy for us, to engage in a new War, and to be the Arbiters of Europe.

The Death of the Duke of Glocester.

But while we were under the apprehenſion of his death, we were ſurprized by an unlooked for and ſudden death of our young Prince at home, which brought a great change on the face of affairs. I had been truſted with his education now for two years; and he had made an amazing progreſs. I had read over the Pſalms, Proverbs, and Goſpels with him, and had explained things, that fell in my way, very copiouſly; and was often ſurprized with the Queſtions that he put me, and the Reflections that he made. He came to underſtand things relating to Religion, beyond imagination. I went thro' Geography ſo often with him, that he knew all the Maps very particularly. I explained to him the forms of Government in every Country, with the Intereſts and Trade of that Country, and what was both good and bad in it: I acquainted him, with all the great Revolutions, that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the Greek and Roman Hiſtories, and of Plutarch's Lives: The laſt thing I explained to him was the Gothick Conſtitution, and the Beneficiary and Feudal Laws: I talked of theſe things at different times, near three hours a day: This was both eaſy and delighting to him. The King ordered five of his chief Miniſters, to come once a quarter, and examine the progreſs he made: They ſeemed amazed both at his knowledge, and the

the good underſtanding that appeared in him: 1700.
He had a wonderful memory, and a very good judgment. He had gone thro' much weakneſs, and ſome years of ill health: The Princeſs was with Child of him, during all the Diſorder we were in at the Revolution, tho' ſhe did not know it herſelf at the time, when ſhe left the Court: This probably had given him ſo weak a Conſtitution, but we hoped the dangerous time was over: His Birth-day was the 24th of July, and he was then eleven years old: He complained a little the next day, but we imputed that to the fatigues of a Birth-day: So that he was too much neglected. The day after, he grew much worſe, and it proved to be a Malignant Fever. He died the fourth day of his illneſs, to the great grief of all who were concerned in him. He was the only remaining Child of ſeventeen that the Princeſs had born, ſome to the full time and the reſt before it. She attended on him, during his ſickneſs, with great tenderneſs, but with a grave compoſedneſs, that amazed all who ſaw it: She bore his death with a Reſignation and Piety that were indeed very ſingular. His death gave a great alarm to the whole Nation: The Jacobites grew inſolent upon it, and ſaid, now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the Prince of Wales's Succeſſion. Soon after this, the Houſe of Brunſwick returned the Viſit, that the King had made them laſt year, and the eyes of all the Proteſtants in the Nation turned towards the Electoreſs of Brunſwick; who was Daughter to the Queen of Bohemia, and was the next Proteſtant Heir, all Papiſts being already excluded from the Succeſſion. Thus, of the four Lives that we had in view, as our chief ſecurity, the two that we depended moſt on, the Queen and the Duke of Gloceſter were carried off on the ſudden, before we were aware of it, and of the two that remain'd (the King and the Princeſs) as there was no iſſue, and little hopes of any by either of them, ſo the

1700. King, who at beſt was a man of a feeble Conſtitution, was now falling under an ill habit of body: His Legs were much ſwelled, which ſome thought was the beginning of a Dropſy, while others thought it was only a ſcorbutick Diſtemper.

The temper of the Nation.

Thus God was giving us great alarms, as well as many mercies: He bears long with us, but we are become very corrupt in all reſpects: So that the ſtate of things among us gives a melancholy proſpect. The Nation was falling under a general diſcontent, and a diſlike of the King's perſon and government; And the King, on his part, ſeemed to grow weary of us and of our affairs; and partly by the fret, from the oppoſition he had of late met with, partly from his ill health, he was falling as it were into a lethargy of mind: We were, upon the matter, become already more than half a Commonwealth; ſince the Government was plainly in the hands of the Houſe of Commons, who muſt ſit once a year, and as long as they thought fit, while the King had only the Civil Liſt for Life, ſo that the whole adminiſtration of the Government was under their inſpection: The Act for Triennial Parliaments kept up a ſtanding faction in every County and Town of England: But tho' we were falling inſenſibly into a Democracy, we had not learned the virtues, that are neceſſary for that ſort of Government; Luxury, Vanity, and Ambition increaſed daily, and our animoſities were come to a great height, and gave us diſmal apprehenſions. Few among us ſeemed to have a right notion of the love of their Country, and of a zeal for the good of the Publick: The Houſe of Commons, how much ſoever its power was advanced, yet was much ſunk in its credit; very little of gravity, order, or common decency appeared among them: The balance lay chiefly in the Houſe of Lords, who had no natural ſtrength to reſiſt the Commons: The Toleration of all the ſects among us, had made us live more quietly together

together of late, than could be expected, when severe Laws were rigorously executed against Dissenters. No tumults or disorders had been heard of in any part of the Kingdom, these eleven years, since that Act passed: And yet the much greater part of the Clergy studied to blow up this fire again, which seemed to be now, as it were covered over with ashes. 1700.

The Dissenters behaved themselves more quietly, with relation to the Church, they having quarrels and disputes among themselves: The Independents were raising the old Antinomian Tenets, as if men, by believing in Christ, were so united to him, that his righteousness became theirs, without any other condition, besides that of their Faith: So that, tho' they acknowledged the obedience of his Laws to be necessary, they did not call it a condition, but only a consequence of justification. In this, they were opposed by most of the Presbyterians, who seemed to be sensible, that this struck at the root of all Religion, as it weaken'd the obligation to a holy life: This year had produced a new extravagance in that matter. One Asgil, a Member of Parliament, had published a Book, grounded on their notions, on which he had grafted a new and wild inference of his own, that since true Believers recover'd in Christ all that they lost in Adam, and our natural death was the effect of Adam's Sin, he inferr'd that Believers were render'd immortal by Christ, and not liable to death: And that those who believed, with a true and firm Faith, could not die. This was a strain beyond all that ever went before it, and since we see that all men die, the natural consequence that resulted from this was, that there neither are nor ever were any true Believers. The Presbyterians had been also engaged in disputes with the Anabaptists. They complain'd, that they saw too great a giddiness in their people, and seemed so sensible of this, and so desirous to be brought into the Church, Divisions among the Dissenters.

1700. that a few inconſiderable Conceſſions would very probably have brought the bulk of them into our Communion: But the greater part of the Clergy were ſo far from any diſpoſition this way, that they ſeem to be more prejudiced againſt them than ever.

And among the Quakers.

The Quakers have had a great breach made among them, by one George Keith, a Scotchman, with whom I had my firſt education at Aberdeen: He had been thirty ſix years among them: He was eſteemed the moſt learned man, that ever was in that ſect: He was well verſed both in the Oriental Tongues, in Philoſophy and Mathematicks: After he had been above thirty years in high eſteem among them, he was ſent to Penſilvania (a Colony ſet up by Pen, where they are very numerous) to have the chief direction of the education of their youth. In thoſe parts, he ſaid, he firſt diſcovered that, which had been always either denied to him, or ſo diſguiſed that he did not ſuſpect it: But being far out of reach, and in a place where they were Maſters, they ſpoke out their mind plainer; and it appeared to him, that they were Deiſts, and that they turned the whole Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion into Allegories; chiefly thoſe, which relate to the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt, and the reconciliation of Sinners to God, by virtue of his Croſs: He being a true Chriſtian, ſet himſelf with great zeal againſt this, upon which they grew weary of him, and ſent him back to England. At his return, he ſet himſelf to read many of their Books, and then he diſcovered the Myſtery, which was formerly ſo hid from him, that he had not obſerved it: Upon this, he opened a new meeting, and by a printed Summons he called the whole Party, to come and ſee the Proof, that he had to offer, to convince them of theſe errors: Few Quakers came to his Meetings, but great multitudes of other People flockt about him: He brought the Quakers Books with him, and read

ſuch

ſuch paſſages out of them, as convinced his hearers, that he had not charged them falſly: He continued theſe Meetings, being ſtill in outward appearance a Quaker, for ſome years; till having prevailed, as far as he ſaw any probability of ſucceſs, he laid aſide their exterior, and was reconciled to the Church, and is now in Holy Orders among us, and likely to do good ſervice, in undeceiving and reclaiming ſome of thoſe miſled Enthuſiaſts. 1700.

A diviſion in the Church.

The Clergy continued to be much divided: All moderate Divines were looked upon by ſome hot men, with an ill eye, as perſons who were cold and indifferent in the matters of the Church: That which flowed from a gentleneſs, both of temper and principle, was repreſented, as an inclination to favour Diſſenters, which paſſed among many, for a more heinous thing than leaning to Popery itſelf. Thoſe men, who began now to be called the High Church Party, had all along expreſſed a coldneſs, if not an oppoſition to the preſent Settlement: Soon after the Revolution, ſome great Preferments had been given among them, to try if it was poſſible to bring them to be hearty for the Government; but it appearing, that they were ſoured with a leaven, that had gone too deep to be wrought out, a ſtop was put to the courting them any more: When they ſaw Preferments went in another Channel, they ſet up a complaint over England of the want of Convocations, that they were not allowed to ſit nor act with a free liberty, to conſider of the grievances of the Clergy, and of the danger the Church was in. This was a new pretenſion, never thought of ſince the Reformation: Some Books were writ to juſtify it, with great acrimony of ſtile, and a ſtrain of inſolence, that was peculiar to one Atterbury, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent Preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him; but was both ambitious and virulent

1700. lent out of meaſure; and had a ſingular talent in aſſerting Paradoxes with a great air of aſſurance, ſhewing no ſhame when he was detected in them, tho' this was done in many inſtances: But he let all theſe paſs, without either confeſſing his errors, or pretending to juſtify himſelf: He went on ſtill venting new falſhoods in ſo barefaced a manner, that he ſeemed to have outdone the Jeſuits themſelves. He thought the Government had ſo little ſtrength or credit, that any claim againſt it would be well received; he attack'd the Supremacy of the Crown, with relation to Eccleſiaſtical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our Divines with great zeal: But now the hot men of the Clergy did ſo readily entertain his Notions, that in them it appeared, that thoſe who are the moſt earneſt in the defence of certain points, when theſe ſeem to be for them, can very nimbly change their minds upon a change of circumſtances.

Debates concerning the Biſhop of St. David's.

An eminent inſtance of this had appeared in the Houſe of Lords, in the former Seſſion; where the deprived Biſhop of St. David's complained of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: Firſt, For breach of Privilege, ſince Sentence was paſt upon him, tho' he had in Court claimed Privilege of Parliament, to which no regard had been paid: But as he had waved his Privilege in the Houſe of Lords, it was carried, after a long Debate and by no great Majority, that in that caſe, he could not reſume his Privilege. He excepted next to the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction, and pretended that he could not judge a Biſhop, but in a Synod of the Biſhops of the Province, according to the Rules of the Primitive Times: In oppoſition to this it was ſhewn, that from the ninth and tenth Century downward, both Popes and Kings had concurred to bring this Power ſingly into the hands of the Metropolitans; That this was the conſtant practice in England before the Reformation; that by the proviſional Clauſe, in the Act paſt in the twenty fifth of Henry

the Eighth, that empowered thirty two perſons to draw a new Body of Church Laws, all former Laws or Cuſtoms were to continue in force till that new Body was prepared: So that the Power, the Metropolitan then was poſſeſſed of, ſtood confirmed by that Clauſe: It is true, during the High Commiſſion, all Proceedings againſt Biſhops were brought before that Court, which proceeded in a Summary way, and againſt whoſe Sentence no Appeal lay: But after that Court was taken away, a full Declaration was made, by an Act of Parliament, for continuing the Power that was lodged with the Metropolitan. It was alſo urged, that if the Biſhop had any exception to the Archbiſhop's Juriſdiction, that ought to have been pleaded in the firſt inſtance, and not reſerved to the concluſion of all: Nor could the Archbiſhop erect a new Court, or proceed in the Trial of a Biſhop in any other way, than in that, which was warranted by Law or Precedent. To all this no anſwer was given, but the buſineſs was kept up, and put off by many delays. It was ſaid, the thing was new, and the Houſe was not yet well apprized of it; and the laſt time, in which the Debate was taken up in the Houſe, it ended in an intimation, that it was hoped the King would not fill that See, till the Houſe ſhould be better ſatisfied, in the point of the Archbiſhop's Authority: So the Biſhoprick was not diſpoſed of for ſome years: And this uncertainty put a great delay to the Proceſs againſt the other Welch Biſhop, accuſed of the ſame Crime. 1700.

The death of the King of Spain.

In October the Pope died; and at the ſame time, all Europe was alarmed with the deſperate ſtate of the King of Spain's health. When the news came to the Court of France, that he was in the laſt Agony, the Earl of Mancheſter, who was then our Ambaſſador at that Court, told me, that Mr. Torcy, the French Secretary of State, was ſent to him by the King of France, deſiring him to let

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1700. the King his Maſter know the News, and to ſignify to him, that the French King hoped, that he would put things in a readineſs, to execute the Treaty, in caſe any oppoſition ſhould be made to it: And in his whole diſcourſe, he expreſſed a fixed Reſolution in the French Councils to adhere to it: A few days after that, the news came of his Death and of his Will, declaring the Duke of Anjou the Univerſal Heir of the whole Spaniſh Monarchy: It is not yet certainly known, by what means this was brought about, nor how the King of Spain was drawn to conſent to it, or whether it was a meer forgery, made by Cardinal Portocarrero and ſome of the Grandees, who partly by practice and corruption, and partly for ſafety and that their Monarchy might be kept entire (they imagining that the Power of France was far ſuperior to all that the Houſe of Auſtria would be able to engage in its intereſts) had been prevailed on to prepare and publiſh this Will; and, to make it more acceptable to the Spaniards, among other Forfeitures of the Crown, not only the Succeſſor's departing from what they call the Catholick Faith, but even his not maintaining the immaculate Conception of the Virgin, was One.

Clement the Eleventh choſen Pope.

As ſoon as the news came to Rome, it quickned the Intrigues of the Conclave, ſo they ſet up Albano, a man of fifty two years of Age, who beyond all mens expectation was choſen Pope, and took the name of Clement the Eleventh: He had little practice in affairs, but was very learned; and in ſo critical a time, it ſeems, a Pope of Courage and Spirit, not ſunk with age into covetouſneſs or peeviſhneſs, was thought the fitteſt Perſon for that See. France had ſent no excluſion to bar him, not imagining that he could be thought on: At firſt they did not ſeem pleaſed with the choice, but it was too late to oppoſe it: So they reſolved to gain him to their intereſts, in which they have ſucceeded beyond what they then hoped for. When the

Court

Court of France had notice ſent them of the late King of Spain's Will, real or pretended, they ſeemed to be at a ſtand for ſome days; And the Letters wrote from the Secretary's Office, gave it out for certain, that the King would ſtick to the Partition Treaty: Madam de Maintenon had an unſpeakable fondneſs for the Duke of Anjou: So ſhe prevailed with the Dauphin to accept of the Will, and ſet aſide the Treaty: She alſo engaged Pontchartrain to ſecond this. 1700.

The King of Spain's Will is accepted.

They being thus prepared; when the news of the King of Spain's Death came to Fontainbleau, where the Court was at that time, Mr. Spanheim, who was then there as Ambaſſador of Pruſſia, told me, that a Cabinet Council was called, within two hours after the news came: It met in Madam de Maintenon's Lodgings, and ſate about four hours: Pontchartrain was for accepting the Will, and the reſt of the Miniſtry were for adhering to the Treaty. But the Dauphin joined, for accepting the Will, with an air of poſitiveneſs, that he had never aſſumed before: So it was believed to be done by concert with the King, who was reſerved and ſeemed more inclined to the Treaty: In concluſion, Madam Maintenon ſaid, what had the Duke of Anjou done, to provoke the King, to barr him of his Right to that Succeſſion? And upon this, all ſubmitted to the Dauphin's opinion, and the King ſeemed overcome with their reaſons.

The Duke of Anjou declared King of Spain.

This was on Monday; but tho' the matter was reſolved on, yet it was not publiſhed till Thurſday: For then, at the King's Levee, he declared, that he accepted of the Will, and the Duke of Anjou was now treated as King of Spain. Notice of this being ſent to Spain, an Ambaſſador came in form, to ſignify the Will, and to deſire that their King might go and live among them. Upon which he was ſent thither, accompanied by his two Brothers, who went with him to the Frontiers of Spain. When the Court of France publiſhed this Reſolution,

1700. lution, and ſent it to all the Courts of Europe, they added a moſt infamous excuſe, for this notorious breach of Faith: They ſaid, the King of France conſidered chiefly what was the main deſign of the Treaty, which was to maintain the Peace of Europe; and therefore to purſue this, he departed from the words of the Treaty, but he adhered to the Spirit and the chief intent of it. This ſeemed to be an equivocation of ſo groſs a nature, that it looked like the invention of a Jeſuit Confeſſor, adding impudence to Perjury. The King and the States were ſtruck with this: The King was full of indignation, to find himſelf ſo much abuſed: So he came over to England, to ſee what was to be done upon ſo great an emergency. The Spaniards, ſeeing themſelves threaten'd with a War from the Emperor, and apprehending that the Empire, together with England and the United Provinces, might be engaged to join in the War, and being unable to defend themſelves, delivered all into the hands of France: And upon that, both the Spaniſh Netherlands and the Dutchy of Milan received French Garriſons: The French Fleet came to Cadiz: A Squadron was alſo ſent to the Weſt Indies: So that the whole Spaniſh Empire fell now, without a ſtroke of the Sword, into the French Power. All this was the more formidable, becauſe the Duke of Burgundy had then no Children, and by this means, the King of Spain was in time likely to ſucceed to the Crown of France: And thus the World ſaw the appearance of a new Univerſal Monarchy, like to ariſe out of this conjunction.

A new Parliament ſummoned.

It might have been expected that, when ſuch a new unlooked for Scene was opened, the King ſhould have loſt no time in bringing his Parliament together, as ſoon as poſſible: It was prorogued to the 20th of November, and the King had ſent Orders from Holland, to ſignify his Reſolution for their Meeting on that day: But the Miniſters,

Miniſters, whom he was then bringing into his buſineſs, had other views: They thought they were not ſure of a Majority in Parliament for their purpoſes, ſo they prevailed with the King to diſſolve the Parliament, and after a ſet of Sheriffs were pricked, fit for the turn, a new Parliament was ſummoned, to meet on the ſixth day of February, but it was not opened till the tenth. 1700.

And now I am come to the end of this Century, in which there was a black appearance of a new and diſmal ſcene; France was now in poſſeſſion of a great Empire, for a ſmall part of which they had been in Wars (broke off indeed in ſome intervals) for above two hundred years; while we in England, who were to protect and defend the reſt, were, by wretched factions and violent animoſities, running into a feeble and disjointed ſtate: The King's cold and reſerved manner, upon ſo high a provocation, made ſome conclude, that he was in ſecret engagements with France; that he was reſolved to own the new King of Spain, and not to engage in a new War: This ſeemed ſo different from his own inclinations, and from all the former parts of his Life, that it made many conclude, that he found himſelf in an ill ſtate of health, the ſwelling of his Legs being much encreaſed, and that this might have ſuch effects on his mind, as to make him leſs warm and active, leſs diſpoſed to involve himſelf in new troubles; and that he might think it too inconſiderate a thing to enter on a new War, that was not like to end ſoon, when he felt himſelf in a declining ſtate of health: But the true ſecret of this unaccountable behaviour in the King, was ſoon diſcovered.

A new Miniſtry.

The Earl of Rocheſter was now ſet at the head of his buſineſs, and was to bring the Tories into his Service: They had continued, from his firſt acceſſion to the Throne, in a conſtant oppoſition to his intereſts: Many of them were believed to be

1700. be Jacobites in their hearts, and they were generally much againſt the Toleration, and violent enemies to the Diſſenters: They had been backward in every thing, that was neceſſary for carrying on the former War; they had oppoſed Taxes as much as they could, and were againſt all ſuch as were eaſily levied and leſs ſenſibly felt by the people; and were always for thoſe, that were moſt grievous to the Nation, hoping that by thoſe heavy burdens, the people would grow weary of the War and of the Government: On the contrary the Whigs, by ſupporting both, were become leſs acceptable to the Nation: In Elections their Intereſt was much ſunk; every new Parliament was a new diſcovery, that they were become leſs popular, and the others, who were always oppoſing and complaining, were now cried up as the Patriots. In the three laſt Seſſions, the Whigs had ſhewed ſuch a readineſs to give the King more force, together with a management to preſerve the Grants of Ireland, that they were publickly charged as Betrayers of their Country, and as men that were for truſting the King with an Army; in a word, they were accuſed of too ready a compliance with the humours and intereſts of Courts and Favourites, ſo they were generally cenſured and decried: And now ſince they had not ſucceeded to the King's mind, ſome about him poſſeſſed him with this, that either they would not, or could not ſerve him. In ſome of them indeed, their Principles lay againſt thoſe things, whereas the Tories Principles did naturally lead them to make the Crown great and powerful: It was alſo ſaid, that the great oppoſition made to every thing the King deſired, and the difficulties that had been of late put upon him, flowed chiefly from the hatred born to thoſe who were imployed by him, and who had brought in their friends and creatures into the beſt Poſts: And they were now ſtudying to recover their loſt popularity; which would

would make them cold, if not backward in complying with what the King might desire for the future: The Whigs did also begin to complain of the King's Conduct, of his minding Affairs so little, of his being so much out of the Kingdom, and of his ill choice of Favourites; and they imputed the late miscarriages to errors in conduct, which they could neither prevent nor redress: The Favourites, who thought of nothing but to continue in favour, and to be still safe and secure in their credit, concurred to press the King to take other measures, and to turn to another set of men, who would be no longer his enemies, if they had some of the best Places shared among them: And tho' this method had been almost fatal, when the King had followed it, soon after his first Accession to the Crown, yet there seemed to be less danger in trying it now, than was formerly. We were in full Peace: And it was commonly said, that nobody thought any more of King James, and therefore it was fit, for the King's Service, to encourage all his people to come into his interests, by letting them see how soon he could forget all that was past. These considerations had so far prevailed with him, that before he went out of England, he had engaged himself secretly to them: It is true, the Death, first of the Duke of Gloceſter, and now of the King of Spain, had very much changed the face of affairs, both at home and abroad; yet the King would not break off from his engagements. 1700.

Soon after his return to England, the Earl of Rocheſter was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he had the chief direction of affairs. And, that the most eminent man of the Whigs might not oppose them in the new Parliament, they got Mr. Mountague to be made a Baron, who took the Title of Halifax, which was sunk by the death of that Marquis, without issue Male. The man, on whose management of the House of

1700. Commons, this new Set depended, was Mr. Harley, the Heir of a Family, which had been hitherto the moſt eminent of the Preſbyterian Party; his Education was in that way: But he, not being conſidered at the Revolution, as he thought he deſerved, had ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Court in every thing, and to find fault with the whole Adminiſtration. He had the chief hand, both in the reduction of the Army, and in the matter of the Iriſh Grants: The High Party truſted him, tho' he ſtill kept up an intereſt among the Preſbyterians; and he had ſo particular a dexterity, that he made both the High Church Party and the Diſſenters depend upon him; ſo it was agreed that he ſhould be Speaker. All this while, the new Miniſters talked of nothing but Negotiations, and gave it out, that the King of France was ready to give all the ſecurity that could be deſired, for maintaining the Peace of Europe. At this time, the Emperor ſent over to England a Miniſter, to ſet forth his Title to the Spaniſh Monarchy, ſettled on his Houſe by antient Entails, often repeated, and now devolving on him by an undoubted Right, ſince by the Renunciation made by the late Queen of France, (as was ſtipulated by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and then made by her in due form) this could not be called in queſtion. Our new Miniſters were ſcarce civil to the Emperor's Envoy; and would not enter into any Conſultations with him: But the Dutch, who were about the King, and all the Foreign Miniſters ſpoke in another Stile; they ſaid, that nothing but a General Union of all the Powers in Europe, could hinder the conjunction of the two Monarchies: So, by what thoſe, who talked often with the King, gave out, it came to be ſoon known, that the King ſaw the neceſſity of a new War, but that he kept himſelf in a great reſerve, that he might manage his new Miniſters

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and their Party, and see if he could engage them to concur with him. 1700.

But before I conclude the relation of this year, at which the Century ends, I must close it with an account of the King of Sweden's glorious Campaign: He made all the haste he could to relieve Livonia, where not only Riga was for some months besieged by the King of Poland, but Narva was also attacked by the Czar, who hoped by taking it, to get an entrance into the Baltick: The Czar came in Person against it, with an Army of one hundred thousand men: Narva was not provided for a Siege: It had a small Garrison, and had very poor Magazines, yet the Muscovites attacked it so feebly, that it held out beyond all expectation, till the end of the year. Upon the King of Sweden's landing at Revel, the Saxons drew off from Riga, after a long Siege at a vast charge: This being done, and Riga both opened and supplied, that King marched next to Narva. The Czar, upon his March towards him, left his Army in such a manner, as made all people conclude, he had no mind to hazard his Person: The King marched thro' ways, that were thought so impracticable, that little care had been taken to secure them: So he surprised the Muscovites, and broke into their Camp, before they apprehended he was near them; he totally routed their Army, took many Prisoners, with all their Artillery and Baggage, and so made a glorious entry into Narva. This is the noblest Campaign that we find in any History; in which a King about eighteen years of age, led an Army himself against three Kings, who had confederated against him, and was successful in every one of his Attempts, giving great marks, both of personal courage and good conduct in them all; and which is more extraordinary, an eminent measure both of Virtue and Piety appeared in his whole behaviour. In him, the World hoped to see another Gustavus Adol-

The King of Sweden's glorious Campaign.

1700. phus, who conquered, or rather poſſeſſed himſelf of Livonia, in the ſame year of his age, in which this King did now ſo gloriouſly recover it, when almoſt loſt by the Invaſion of two powerful Neighbours. There were great diſorders at this time in Lithuania, occaſioned by the Factions there, which were ſet on and fomented by the King, who ſeemed to aſpire to be the Hereditary King of Poland. But as theſe things are at a great diſtance from us, ſo ſince we have no publick Miniſter in thoſe parts, I cannot give an account of them, nor form a true judgment thereupon. The Eighteenth Century began with a great Scene, that opened with it.

1701. Great apprehenſions of the danger Europe was now in.

The new King of Spain wrote to all the Courts of Europe, giving notice of his Acceſſion to that Crown, only he forgot England: And it was publickly given out, that he had promiſed the pretended Prince of Wales, that in due time he would take care of his intereſts: The King and the States were much alarmed, when they beheld the French poſſeſſed of the Spaniſh Netherlands: A great part of the Dutch Army lay ſcattered up and down in thoſe Garriſons, more particularly in Luxemburg, Namur and Mons, and theſe were now made Priſoners of War: Neither Officers nor Soldiers could own the King of Spain, for their Maſters had not yet done it: At this time, the French preſſed the States very hard to declare themſelves: A great Party in the States were for owning him, at leaſt in form, till they could get their Troops again into their own hands, according to Capitulation: Nor were they then, in a condition to reſiſt the impreſſion, that might have been made upon them, from the Garriſons in the Spaniſh Guelder, who could have attack'd them before they were able to make head: So the States conſented to own the King of Spain. That being done, their Battalions were ſent back,

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but they were ill uſed, contrary to Capitulation, and the Soldiers were tempted to deſert their Service, yet very few could be prevailed on to do it. 1701.

A Party for France in the Parliament.

As ſoon as our Parliament was opened, it appeared that the French had a great Party in it: It is certain, great Sums came over this Winter from France, the Packet-boat came ſeldom without 10000 Louis d'Ors, it brought often more: The Nation was filled with them, and in ſix months time, a Million of Guineas were coined out of them: The Merchants indeed ſaid, that the ballance of Trade was then ſo much turned to our ſide, that, whereas we were wont to carry over a Million of our Money in Specie, we then ſent no money to France; and had at leaſt half that Sum ſent over to ballance the Trade; yet this did not account for that vaſt flood of French Gold, that was viſible amongſt us: And, upon the French Ambaſſador's going away, a very ſenſible alteration was found in the Bills of Exchange: So it was concluded, that great remittances were made to him, and that theſe were diſtributed among thoſe, who reſolved to merit a ſhare in that Wealth, which came over now ſo copiouſly, beyond the example of former times. The King, in his Speech to the Parliament, in the moſt effectual manner poſſible, recommended the ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, in the Proteſtant Line; and with relation to Foreign affairs, he laid them before the Two Houſes, that they might offer him ſuch Advices, as the State of the Nation and her Alliances required; but he did not ſo much as intimate to them his own thoughts concerning them. A deſign was laid, in the Houſe of Commons, to open the Seſſion with an Addreſs to the King, that he would own the King of Spain: The matter was ſo far concerted, that they had agreed on the words of the Vote, and ſeemed not to doubt of the concurrence of the Houſe;

1701. but Mr. Monkton oppoſed it with great heat, and among other things ſaid, if that Vote was carried, he ſhould expect that the next Vote to be put, would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales: Upon this occaſion it appeared, how much popular Aſſemblies are apt to be turned, by a thing boldly ſaid, tho' the conſequence is ever ſo remote; ſince the connection of theſe two points lay at ſome diſtance, yet the iſſue of the Debate was quite contrary to that which was deſigned: It ended in an Addreſs to the King, to enter into new Alliances with the States, for our mutual Defence, and for preſerving the Liberty and Peace of Europe: Theſe laſt words were not carried, without much difficulty: They were conſidered, as they were indeed, an inſinuation towards a War.

Partiality in judging Elections.

Upon the view of the Houſe, it appeared very evidently, that the Tories were a great Majority; yet they, to make the matter ſure, reſolved to clear the Houſe of a great many, that were engaged in another intereſt: Reports were brought to them of Elections, that had been ſcandalouſly purchaſed, by ſome who were concerned in the new Eaſt-India Company. Inſtead of Drinking and Entertainments, by which Elections were formerly managed, now a moſt ſcandalous practice was brought in of buying Votes, with ſo little decency, that the Electors engaged themſelves by Subſcription, to chuſe a blank perſon, before they were truſted with the name of their Candidate. The old Eaſt-India Company had driven a courſe of Corruption within doors with ſo little ſhame, that the new Company intended to follow their example, but with this difference, that, whereas the former had bought the perſons who were elected, they reſolved to buy Elections. Sir Edward Seimour, who had dealt in this Corruption his whole life-time, and whom the old Company was ſaid to have bought before, at a very high price, brought before the Houſe of Commons the diſcovery

discovery of some of the practices of the New Company: The examining into these took up many days. In conclusion, the matter was so well proved, that several Elections were declared void; and some of the persons so chosen, were for some time kept in prison; after that they were expelled the House. In these proceedings, great partiality appeared; for when in some cases, Corruption was proved clearly, against some of the Tory Party, and but doubtfully against some of the contrary side, that, which was voted Corruption in the latter, was called the giving Alms in those of the former sort. Thus for some weeks, the House seemed to have forgot all the Concerns of Europe, and was wholly imployed in the weakening of one side, and in fortifying the other: To make some shew of zeal for the Publick safety, they voted thirty thousand Men for the Fleet; But they would allow no Marines, tho' they were told, that a Fleet without these was only a good security for our own Defence, but could have no influence on the Affairs of Europe, either to frighten or to encourage those abroad: Such a Fleet as it could not offend, so it was much too strong, if it was intended only for a defence, and it looked like a needless wasting the Treasure of the Nation, to imploy so much of it to so little purpose, and only to make a shew. 1701.

The Partition Treaty charged in the House Lords.

While the House of Commons was going on, minding only Party matters, a design was laid in the House of Lords, to attack the Partition Treaty, and some of those who were concerned in it. They begun with an Address to the King, that he would order all the Treaties made, since the Peace of Ryswick, to be laid before them. This was complied with so slowly, that they were not brought to the House till the 26th of February, and no notice was taken of them, till the 10th of March. It soon appeared that this was done by a French direction. The Court of France (perceiv-

1701. ing that the Dutch were alarmed at their neighbourhood, and were encreasing their force, both by Sea and Land, and were calling upon their Allies to furnish their Quota's, which they were bound by Treaties to send to their defence) enter'd upon a Negotiation with them at the Hague, to try what would lay these fears. Upon this, in the beginning of March, the States, in conjunction with Mr. Stanhope, the English Envoy at the Hague, gave in Memorials, in which they insisted on the violation of the Partition Treaty, and particularly on the French possessing themselves of the Spanish Netherlands: They also desired, that the Emperor might have just satisfaction in his pretensions, and that in the mean while, Luxemburg, Namur, Mons, and Aeth, might be put in their hands; and Ostend and Newport into the hands of the English, and both they and the Dutch might have a free Trade, as before, to all the Spanish Dominions. The French seeing these demands run so high, and being resolved to offer no other security for the Peace of Europe, but the renewing the Treaty of Ryswick, set all their Engines at work in England, to involve us into such contentions at home, as should both disable us, from taking any care of Foreign affairs, and make the rest of Europe conclude, that nothing considerable was to be expected from England. As soon as the news of those Memorials could come to England, the Marquis of Normanby and the rest of the Tories, took up the Debate concerning the Partition Treaty: This they managed with great Dexterity, while the matter was as much neglected by the King, who went that day to Hampton-Court, where he stay'd some time; by this means, no directions were given, and we were involved in great difficulties, before the Court was aware of it: The King either could not prevail with his new Ministers, to excuse the Treaty, if they would not justify it; or he neglected them so far, as not

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to ſpeak to them at all about it. Thoſe, who attack'd it, ſaid, they meant nothing in that but to offer the King Advices for the future, to prevent ſuch errors as had been committed in that Treaty, both as to matter and form. They blamed the giving ſuch Territories to the Crown of France, and the forſaking the Emperor: They alſo complained of the ſecrecy, in which the Treaty was carried on, it being not communicated to the Engliſh Council or Miniſtry, but privately tranſacted by the Earls of Portland and Jerſey: They alſo blamed the putting the Great Seal, firſt to blank Powers, and then to the Treaty itſelf, which the King's new Miniſters ſaid, was unjuſt in the contrivance, and ridiculous in the execution. To all this, it was anſwered, that there not being a Force ready and ſufficient to hinder the French from poſſeſſing themſelves of the Spaniſh Monarchy, which they were prepared for, the Emperor had deſired the King to enter into a Treaty of Partition, and had conſented to every Article of it, except that which related to the Dutchy of Milan: But the King, not thinking that worth the engaging in a new War, had obtain'd an exchange of it for the Dutchy of Lorrain: The Emperor did not agree to this, yet he preſſed the King not to break off the Treaty, but to get the beſt terms he could for him, and above all things, he recommended ſecrecy, that ſo he might not loſe his intereſt in Spain, by ſeeming to conſent to this Partition. It is certain, that by our Conſtitution, all Foreign Negotiations were truſted entirely to the Crown; that the King was under no obligation by Law, to communicate ſuch ſecrets to his Council, or to hear, much leſs was he obliged to follow their Advices: In particular it was ſaid, that the Keeper of the Great Seal had no ſort of authority, to deny the putting it, either to Powers for a Treaty, or to any Treaty which the King ſhould agree to: The 1701.

Law

1701. Law gives no direction in such matters, and he could not refuse to put the Great Seal to any thing, for which he had an Order from the King, unless the matter was contrary to Law, which had no provision in this case: They insisted most on the other side, upon the concluding a Treaty of this importance, without communicating it first to the Privy Council; so the first day of the Debate ended with this.

The Lords advised with in it opposed it.

The Earl of Portland apprehending that this might fall too heavy on him, got the King's leave to communicate the whole matter next day to the House: So he told them, that he had not concluded the Treaty alone, but had, by the King's Order, acquainted six of his chief Ministers with it, who were the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Viscount Lonsdale, the Lord Somers and Halifax, and Secretary Vernon: Upon which those Lords, being likewise freed by the King from the Oath of Secrecy, told the House, that the Earl of Jersey, having in the King's Name called them together, the Treaty was read to them, and that they excepted to several things in it, but they were told, that the King had carried the matter as far as was possible, and that he could obtain no better terms: So when they were told, that no alterations could be made, but that every thing was settled, they gave over insisting on particulars; they only advised, that the King might not engage himself in any thing, that would bring on a new War, since the Nation had been so uneasy under the last. This was carried to the King, and a few days after that, he told some of them, that he was made acquainted with their exceptions, but how reasonable soever they were, he had driven the matter as far as he could: The Earl of Pembroke said to the House of Lords, he had offered the King those Advices, that he thought were most for his service, and for the good of the Nation; but that he did not think himself bound to give an account of that

that, to any other perſons: He was not the man ſtruck at, ſo there was nothing ſaid, either againſt him, or the Earls of Marlborough or Jerſey: Upon this, the Debate went on: Some ſaid, this was a mockery, to aſk advice when there was no room for it: It was anſwered, the King had aſked the advice of his Privy Council, and they had given it; but that, ſuch was the Regal Prerogative, that it was ſtill free to him to follow it or not, as he ſaw cauſe. 1701.

An Addreſs to the King about it.

In concluſion, the Houſe of Lords reſolved to ſet out this whole matter, in an addreſs to the King, complaining both of the Partition Treaty, and of the method in which it had been carried on: The Lord Wharton moved an addition to the Addreſs, that, whereas the French King had broke that Treaty, they ſhould adviſe the King to treat no more with him, or rely on his word without further ſecurity: This was much oppoſed, by all thoſe who were againſt the engaging in a new War: They ſaid, all Motions of that kind ought to come from the Houſe of Commons, who only could ſupport ſuch an Advice, that did upon the matter engage us into a new War; nor would they lay any blame on the breaking of a Treaty, which they were reſolved to condemn: They alſo excepted to the words "further ſecurity" as ambiguous; yet the Majority of the Houſe agreed to it; for there was ſuch treachery in the French Negotiations, that they could not be relied on, without a good Guarantee, and the Pledge of ſome ſtrong places. It now plainly appeared, that the deſign was, to ſet on the Houſe of Commons, to impeach ſome of the Lords, who had been concerned in the Partition Treaty, for it was moved to ſend the Addreſs to the Houſe of Commons, for their concurrence; but that was not carried. The King ſeemed to bear all this with his uſual coldneſs: and the new Miniſters continued ſtill in his confidence, but he laid the matter much to heart: Now

he

1701. he saw the error he had fallen into, by the change he had made in the Ministry: It was plain they resolved to govern him in every thing, and not to be governed by him in any one thing.

Memorials sent from the States.

As soon as this was over, the Earl of Jersey did, by the King's Order, bring to the House of Lords the Memorials that had been given in at the Hague, and then by comparing Dates, it was easy to conjecture, why the Partition Treaty had been let lie so long on the Table, and it seemed as if it was taken up at last, only to blast this Negotiation; a French management appearing very plainly in the whole steps that had been made. The House of Commons began, at the same time, not only to complain of the Partition Treaty, but likewise of the demand of Ostend and Newport, nor would they shew any concern for the Emperor's pretensions: The Dutch demanded the execution of the Treaty that King Charles had made with them, in the year 1677, by which England was bound to assist them with ten thousand Men and twenty Ships of War, if they were attack'd: Some endeavoured, all that was possible, to put this off for the present, pretending that they were not yet attack'd: Others moved, that the pay of ten thousand Men might be given to them, with the twenty Ships, as a full equivalent to the Treaty; yet they not liking this, it was in conclusion agreed to send the ten thousand Men; five thousand of these were to be drawn out of the Army in Ireland, and five thousand of them were to be new levied; but they took care, that Ireland should not be provided with any new Forces in their stead, so jealous were they of trusting the King with an Army. The representation sent over by the States, setting forth the danger they were in, and desiring the assistance of England, was penned with great spirit, and in a very moving strain: The House of Lords did, upon a Debate on that subject, make an Address to the King, to enter into Leagues Offensive and Defensive

Defenſive with the Emperor and other Princes and States, who were intereſted againſt the conjunction of the French and Spaniſh Monarchies: But the Houſe of Commons could not upon this occaſion, be carried further, than to adviſe the King to enter into ſuch Alliances, as ſhould be neceſſary, for our common ſecurity, and for the Peace of Europe. This coldneſs and uncertainty in our Councils, gave the French great advantages in their Negotiations, both in Germany and in Portugal. They tried the Courts of Italy, but without ſucceſs; only the Duke of Mantua conſented, that they ſhould make a ſhew, as if they had ſurprized him, and ſo force him to put Mantua in their hands: The Pope and the Venetians would not declare themſelves; the Pope favoured the French, as the Venetians did the Emperor; who began the War with a pretenſion on the Dutchy of Milan, as a Fief of the Empire that devolved on him; and he was making Magazines, both in Tirol and at Trent: The French ſeemed to deſpiſe all he could do, and did not apprehend, that it was poſſible for him to march an Army into Italy: Both the King and the States preſſed him to make that attempt. The Elector of Bavaria, and ſome of the Circles, had agreed to a Neutrality this year; ſo there was no hope of doing much upon the Rhine, and the French were making the Italians feel, what inſolent Maſters they were like to prove: So a general uneaſineſs among them, determined the Emperor to ſend an Army into Italy, under the Command of Prince Eugene. England was all this while very unwilling to engage; yet for fear we ſhould at laſt have ſeen our intereſt ſo clearly, that we muſt have fallen into it, thoſe who were practiſed on to embroil us, ſo that we might not be in a condition to mind Foreign Affairs, ſet on foot a deſign to impeach the former Miniſtry. 1701.

The

1701. The handle, that brought this about, was given by the Earl of Portland: When he was excuſing his own part in the Partition Treaty, he ſaid, that having withdrawn himſelf from buſineſs, and being at his Country Houſe in Holland, the King ſent to him, deſiring him to enter upon that Negotiation; upon that, he wrote to Secretary Vernon, to aſk his advice and the advice of his other Friends, whether it was fit for him to meddle in that matter, ſince his being by Birth a Foreigner, ſeemed a juſt excuſe for not engaging in a thing of ſuch conſequence: To this Secretary Vernon anſwered, that all his friends thought he was a very proper perſon to be employed in that Treaty, ſince he had known the progreſs of all thoſe Treaties, and the perſons who were imployed on that occaſion: and he named the Lord Somers among thoſe who had adviſed this. The Earl of Portland had miſtaken this circumſtance, which did not belong to the laſt Partition Treaty, but to that of the year before, in favour of the Prince Electoral of Bavaria. The Houſe of Commons hearing of this, required Secretary Vernon to lay before them that Letter, with his anſwer to it; for the Earl of Portland ſaid, that he had left all Papers, relating to that matter, in Holland. Vernon ſaid, he had received no ſuch Letter in the year 1699: So that led them to enquire farther, and they required him, to lay before them all the Letters he had, relating to both Treaties: He ſaid, thoſe were the King's Secrets, writ in confidence, by the perſons he employed. But in ſuch a caſe, a Houſe of Commons will not be put off: a denial rather raiſes in them more earneſtneſs, in following their point: It was ſaid, the King had diſpenſed with the Oath of Secrecy, when he ordered all matters to be laid before them, and they would admit of no excuſe. Vernon upon this went to the King, and told him, ſince theſe were his Secrets,

A deſign to impeach the former Miniſtry.

crets, he was ready to expose himself to the indignation of the House, and to refuse to shew his Letters: But the King said, his refusing to do it would not only raise a storm against himself, from which the King could not protect him, but it would occasion an Address to the King, to order him to lay every thing before the House, which in the state that things were in then, he could not deny: Vernon, upon these Orders given him, at two different times, carried all the Letters, and laid them before the House of Commons: It appeared by these, that he had communicated the Treaty to the King's Ministers, who were in Town, about the end of August 1698: That Lord Somers being then at Tunbridge, he went to him; and that he had communicated the Project, both to the Earl of Orford and the Lord Halifax: Several objections were made by them to many parts of the Treaty, which were mentioned in Vernon's Letters; but, if better terms could not be had, they thought it was better to conclude the Treaty, than to leave the Spanish Monarchy, to be overrun by France, or to involve Europe in a new War. Lord Somers had also put the Seals to Blank Powers, for concluding this Treaty. When all this was read, those who were set on to blow up the flame, moved the House to impeach some of the Ministers, who had been concerned in this transaction; yet in this they proceeded with so visible a partiality, that tho' the Earl of Jersey had signed the Treaty, had been Plenipotentiary at Ryswick, Ambassador in France, and Secretary of State, while the Partition Treaty was negotiating; yet he, having joined himself to the new Ministry, was not questioned about it: The Party said, he had been too easily drawn into it, but that he was not in the Secret, and had no share in the Councils that projected it. 1701.

On the first of April, the House of Commons brought up a general Impeachment of the Earl of Portland, They are impeached.

1701. Portland, for high Crimes and Misdemeanors; but the chief design was against the Earl of Orford, and the Lords Somers and Halifax. Their Enemies tried again what use could be made of Kid's business, for he was taken in our Northern Plantations in America, and brought over: He was examined by the House, but either he could not lay a probable story together, or some remnants of honesty, raised in him by the near prospect of death, restrained him; he accused no person of having advised or encouraged his turning Pirate: He had never talked alone with any of the Lords, and never at all with Lord Somers: He said, he had no Orders from them, but to pursue his Voyage against the Pirates in Madagascar. All endeavours were used to persuade him to accuse the Lords; he was assured that if he did it, he should be preserved; and if he did it not, he should certainly die for his Piracy; yet this could not prevail on him to charge them: So he, with some of his Crew, were hanged, there appearing not so much as a colour to fasten any imputation on those Lords; yet their Enemies tried, what use could be made of the Grant of all that Kid might recover from the Pirates, which some bold and ignorant Lawyers affirmed to be against Law. So this matter was for the fourth time debated in the House of Commons, and the behaviour of those Peers in it appeared to be so innocent, so legal and in truth so meritorious, that it was again let fall. The insisting so much on it, served to convince all people, that the Enemies of these Lords wanted not inclinations, but only matter to charge them, since they made so much use of this: But so partial was a great part of the House, that the dropping this was carried only by a small Majority. When one design failed, another was set up.

Lord Somers heard by the House of Commons.

It was pretended, that by Secretary Vernon's Letters it was clearly proved, that the Lord Somers had consented to the Partition Treaty: So a Debate

bate coming on concerning that, Lord Somers de- 1701.
ſired that he might be admitted, to give an account of his ſhare in it, to the Houſe of Commons: Some oppoſition was made to this, but it had been always granted, ſo it could not be denied him: He had obtained the King's leave, to tell every thing: So that when he appeared before the Houſe, he told them, the King had writ to him, that the ſtate of the King of Spain's health was deſperate, and that he ſaw no way to prevent a new War, but to accept of the propoſition, the French made for a Partition: The King ſent him the Scheme of this, and ordered him to communicate it to ſome others, and to give him both his own opinion and theirs concerning it, and to ſend him over Powers for a Treaty, but in the ſecreteſt manner that was poſſible: Yet the King added, that, if he and his other Miniſters thought that a Treaty ought not to be made upon ſuch a Project, then the whole matter muſt be let fall, for he could not bring the French to better terms. Lord Somers upon this ſaid, that he thought it was the taking too much upon himſelf, if he ſhould have put a ſtop to a Treaty of ſuch conſequence: If the King of Spain had died, before it was finiſhed, and the blame had been caſt on him, for not ſending the neceſſary Powers, becauſe he was not ordered to do it, by a Warrant in full form, he could not have juſtified that, ſince the King's Letter was really a Warrant, and therefore he thought he was bound to ſend the Powers that were called for, which he had done. But at the ſame time, he wrote his own opinion very fully to the King, objecting to many particulars, if there was room for it, and propoſing ſeveral things, which, as he thought, were for the good and intereſt of England. Soon after the Powers were ſent over by him, the Treaty was concluded, to which he put the Great Seal, as he thought he was bound to do: In this, as he was a Privy Counſellor, he had offered the King his beſt ad-

1701. vice, and as he was Chancellor, he had executed his Office according to his duty. As for putting the Seal to the Powers, he had done it upon the King's Letter, which was a real Warrant, tho' not a formal one. He had indeed desired, that a Warrant in due form might be sent him for his own security; but he did not think it became him, to endanger the Publick, only for want of a point of Form, in so critical a time, where great dispatch was requisite. He spoke so fully and so clearly, that upon his withdrawing, it was believed, if the Question had been quickly put, the whole matter had been soon at an end, and that the prosecution would have been let fall: But his enemies drew out the Debate to such a length, that the impression, which his Speech had made, was much worn out; and the House sitting till it was past midnight, they at last carried it by a Majority of seven or eight to impeach him and the Earl of Orford and the Lord Halifax, of high Crimes and Misdemeanors: The general Impeachment was brought up the next day to the Lords Bar.

Contrary Addresses of the Two Houses.

The Commons were very sensible, that those Impeachments must come to nothing, and that they had not a Majority in the House of Lords, to judge in them, as they should direct: So they resolved on a shorter way, to fix a severe censure on the Lords, whom they had thus impeached: They voted an address to the King, for excluding them from his Presence and Councils for ever: This had never gone along with an Impeachment before: The House of Commons had indeed begun such a practice in King Charles the Second's time: When they disliked a Minister, but had not matter to ground an Impeachment on, they had taken this method, of making an Address against him, but it was a new attempt, to come with an Address after an Impeachment: This was punishing before Trial, contrary to an indispensible Rule of Justice, of not judging before the Parties were heard: The Lords

Lords ſaw, that this made their Judicature ridiculous, when, in the firſt inſtance of an Accuſation, application was made to the King for a Cenſure, and a very ſevere one; ſince few Miſdemeanors could deſerve a harder Sentence. Upon theſe grounds, the Lords prevented the Commons, and ſent ſome of their Body to the King, with an Addreſs, praying him, that he would not proceed to any Cenſure of theſe Lords, till they had undergone their Trial. The King received theſe Addreſſes, ſo contrary one to another, from both Houſes, but made no anſwer to either of them; unleſs the letting the names of theſe Lords continue ſtill in the Council Books, might be taken as a refuſing to grant what the Commons had deſired. They renewed their Addreſs, but had no direct anſwer from the King: This, tho' a piece of common juſtice, was complained of, and it was ſaid, that theſe Lords had ſtill great credit with the King: The Commons had, for forms ſake, ordered a Committee to prepare Articles of Impeachment, but they intended to let the matter ſleep; thinking that, what they had already done had ſo marked thoſe Lords, that the King could not imploy them any more; for that was the main thing they drove at. 1701.

The King owned the King of Spain.

While this was in agitation, a Letter came to the King from the King of Spain, giving notice of his Acceſſion to that Crown: It was dated, the day after he entred into Spain, but the Date and the Letter were viſibly writ at different times: The King ordered the Letter to be read in the Cabinet Council; there was ſome ſhort Debate concerning it, but it was never brought into any further deliberation there. The Earl of Rocheſter ſaw the King ſeemed diſtruſtful of him, and reſerved to him in that matter, and was highly offended at it: He and the reſt of the new Miniſtry preſſed the King, to own the King of Spain, and to anſwer his Letter; and ſince the Dutch had done it, it

1701. ſeemed reaſonable that the King ſhould likewiſe do it: They prevailed at laſt, but with much difficulty: The Thing was kept ſecret, and was not communicated to the Privy Council, or to the Two Houſes, nor did the King ſpeak of it to any of the Foreign Miniſters: The Paris Gazette gave the World the firſt Notice of it. This being carried in ſuch a manner, ſeemed the more ſtrange, becauſe his Miniſtry had ſo lately condemned a former One, for not communicating the Partition Treaty to the Council, before it was concluded; and yet had, in a matter of great conſequence, ſo ſoon forgot the Cenſures they had thrown out ſo liberally, upon the ſecrecy with which that matter had been tranſacted. While things were moving in ſuch a ſlow and uncertain pace in England, the Dutch had daily new alarms brought them of the Forces, that the French were pouring into their Neighbourhood; into the Spaniſh Guelder on the one hand, and into Antwerp on the other: So that they were apprehenſive of a deſign both upon Nimeguen and Bergen-op-zom: They took the beſt care they could to ſecure their Frontier: The Negotiations went on ſlowly at the Hague: The French rejected all their demands, and offered nothing but to renew the Peace of Ryſwick: This the Dutch laid again before the King, in a very awakening ſtrain; and he ſent all to the Houſe of Commons, but they could not be brought to declare, that the Offers made by the French were not ſufficient. D'Avaux, ſeeing this coldneſs in our Counſels, refuſed to treat any more with the Dutch, in conjunction with the Envoy of England, and ſaid his Powers directed him only to them: This put a full ſtop to all further Treaty; for the States ſaid, they were engaged in ſuch a cloſe conjunction with England, that they could not enter on a ſeparate Treaty. In the mean while they armed powerfully; and our Fleet, in conjunction with theirs, were Maſters of the Sea; but

for want of Marines, they were in no condition to make any impreſſion on the Enemy. The Emperor went on, with his preparation for a Campaign in Italy: The French ſent an Army into the Milaneze, that they reckoned would be much ſuperior to any Force the Emperor could ſend thither: The Duke of Savoy was engaged in the intereſt of France, by King Philip's marrying his Second Daughter: The Pope ſtill refuſed to give the Inveſtiture of Naples, or to accept the Annual preſent; for he would not quite break with the Emperor. 1701.

The French practices were every where the more prevalent, becauſe they gave out that England would not engage in a War, and the face of our Affairs looked but dark at home: The Emperor's Miniſters had an uneaſy time among us; the King encouraged them, but the new Miniſters were ſcarce civil to them, and ſtudied to put them quite out of hope. The King of Denmark entered into a Treaty with the Emperor and the States. Great pains were taken to mediate a Peace between Sweden and Poland. The Court of France, as well as that of Vienna, tried it; both ſides hoping that Sweden, if not Poland, might enter into their intereſts: The French reckoned that Denmark and Sweden could never be on the ſame ſide; So, when they found they could not gain Denmark, they tried a Mediation, hoping to get Sweden into an Alliance with them, but all attempts for a Mediation proved unſucceſsful. The Diet of Poland was put off, and their King being delivered from them, reſolved to carry on the War. The Spaniards, and the Subjects of their other Dominions, began to feel the Inſolence of the French very ſenſibly; but nothing was more uneaſy to them, than the new regulations, they were endeavouring to bring in, to leſſen the expence of the Court of Spain. So they ſeemed well diſpoſed to entertain a new Pretender. Negotiations in ſeveral Places.

1701. While all theſe things were in a ferment all Europe over; the declaring a Proteſtant Succeſſor, after the Princeſs and ſuch Iſſue as ſhe might have, ſeemed to be forgot by our Parliament, tho' the King had begun his Speech with it. The new Miniſters ſpoke of it with much zeal; from this their friends made inferences in their favour, that certainly men, in the intereſts of France, would not promote a deſign ſo deſtructive of all they drove at: This was ſo little of a piece with the reſt of their conduct, that thoſe, who were ſtill jealous of their ſincerity, looked on it as a blind, to cover their ill deſigns, and to gain them ſome credit; for they could not but ſee, that if France was once poſſeſt of the Power and Wealth of Spain, our Laws, and every thing that we could do to ſupport them, would prove but feeble defences. The manner, in which this motion of the Succeſſion was managed, did not carry in it great marks of ſincerity: It was often put off from one day to another, and it gave place to the moſt trifling matters. At laſt, when a day was ſolemnly ſet for it, and all people expected, that it ſhould paſs without any difficulty, Harley moved, that ſome things previous to that might be firſt conſidered. He obſerved, that the haſte the Nation was in, when the preſent Government was ſettled, had made us go too faſt, and overlook many ſecurities, which might have prevented much miſchief, and therefore he hoped they would not now fall into the ſame error. Nothing preſſed them at preſent, ſo he moved they would ſettle ſome Conditions of Government, as Preliminaries, before they ſhould proceed to the Nomination of the Perſon; that ſo we might fix every thing that was wanting, to make our ſecurity compleat. This was popular, and took with many, and it had ſo fair an appearance, that indeed none could oppoſe it: Some weeks were ſpent upon it. Suſpicious people thought, this was done on deſign to blaſt

An Act declaring a Proteſtant Succeſſion.

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the Motion, and to offer ſuch extravagant Limi- 1701.
tations, as ſhould quite change the Form of our
Government, and render the Crown titular and precarious. The King was alarmed at it, for almoſt every particular, that was propoſed, implied a reflection on him and his Adminiſtration, chiefly that of not employing Strangers, and not going too often out of the Kingdom: It was propoſed, that every thing ſhould be done with the advice of the Privy Council, and every Privy Counſellor was to ſign his advice. All men, who had Places or Penſions, were made incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons. As all this was unacceptable to the King, ſo many, who had an ill opinion of the deſign of thoſe, who were now at the Helm, began to conclude, that the delays were affected, and that theſe Limitations were deſigned to raiſe diſputes between the Two Houſes, by which the Bill might be loſt. When ſome time had been ſpent in thoſe Preliminaries, it came to the nomination of the Perſon; Sir John Bowles, who was then diſordered in his Senſes, and ſoon after quite loſt them, was ſet on by the Party, to be the firſt that ſhould name the Electoreſs Dowager of Brunſwick, which ſeemed done to make it leſs ſerious, when moved by ſuch a perſon: He was, by the Forms of the Houſe, put in the Chair of the Committee, to whom the Bill was committed: The thing was ſtill put off for many weeks; at every time that it was called for, the motion was entertained with coldneſs, which ſerved to heighten the jealouſy: The Committee once or twice ſat upon it, but all the Members ran out of the Houſe with ſo much indecency, that the Contrivers ſeemed aſhamed of this management: There were ſeldom fifty or ſixty at the Committee; yet in concluſion, it paſt and was ſent up to the Lords; where we expected great oppoſition would be made to it: Some imagined, the Act was only an artifice, deſigned to gain credit to thoſe, who, at this time were ſo ill thought

1701. of over the Nation, that they wanted ſome colourable thing, to excuſe their other proceedings. Many of the Lords abſented themſelves on deſign. Some little oppoſition was made by the Marquis of Normanby; and four Lords, the Earls of Huntington and Plymouth and the Lords Guilford and Jefferies, proteſted againſt it. Thoſe, who wiſht well to the Act, were glad to have it paſſed any way, and ſo would not examine the Limitations that were in it; they thought it of great importance to carry the Act, and that, at another time, thoſe Limitations might be better conſidered: So the Act paſſed, and the King ſent it over by the Earl of Macclesfield to the Electoreſs, together with the Garter to the Elector. We reckoned it a great point carried, that we had now a Law on our ſide, for a Proteſtant Succeſſor; for we plainly ſaw, a great Party formed againſt it, in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales. He was now paſt thirteen, bred up with a hatred both of our Religion and our Conſtitution, in an admiration of the French Government; and yet many who called themſelves Proteſtants, ſeemed fond of ſuch a Succeſſor; a degree of infatuation that might juſtly amaze all who obſerved it, and ſaw the fury with which it was promoted.

An Act explaining Privilege.

Another very good Act paſt this Seſſion, concerning the Privilege of Parliament. Peers had, by Law or Cuſtom, a Privilege for themſelves and their Servants, during the Seſſion, and at leaſt twenty days before and after. Of late they have reckoned forty days before and after, in which neither they nor their Servants could be ſued in any Court, unleſs for Treaſon, Felony, or breach of the Peace: The Houſe of Commons had alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſame Privilege; but with this difference, that the Lords pretended theirs was a right, not ſubject to the Order of the Houſe of Lords; whereas the Commons held that their Privilege was ſubject to the Authority

of

of their Houſe: Of late years, Seſſions were long and continued by intermediate Prorogations, ſo that the whole year round was a time of Privilege: This made a great obſtruction in the courſe of juſtice, and none, who were ſo protected, could be ſued for Debt. The abuſe was carried further, by the Protections which ſome Lords gave, or rather ſold to perſons, who were no way concerned in their affairs; but when they needed this ſhelter, they had a pretended office given them, that was a bar to all Arreſts. After many fruitleſs attempts to regulate theſe abuſes, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, that took away all Privilege againſt Legal Proſecutions, in intermediate Prorogations; and did ſo regulate it, during the ſitting of Parliament, that an effectual remedy was provided for a grievance, that had been long and much complained of: Theſe were the only popular things that were done by this Parliament, the reſt of their proceedings ſhewed both the madneſs and fury of Parties. 1701.

Proceedings upon the Impeachments.

The Impeachments lay long neglected in the Houſe of Commons, and probably they would have been let ſleep, if the Lords concerned had not moved for a Trial: On their motion, Meſſages were ſent to the Commons to quicken their Proceedings: At laſt, Articles were framed and brought up, firſt againſt the Earl of Orford: He was charged for taking great Grants from the King; Kid's Buſineſs was objected to him; he was alſo charged for abuſes in managing the Fleet, and victualling it, when it lay on the Coaſt of Spain, and for ſome Orders he had given, during his Command; and in concluſion, for his adviſing the Partition Treaty. And in ſetting this out, the Commons urged, that the King, by the Alliance made with the Emperor in the year 1689, was bound to maintain his Succeſſion to the Crown of Spain, which they ſaid was ſtill in force: So the Partition Treaty was a Breach of Faith, contrary

And firſt, The Articles againſt the Earl of Orford.

to

1701. to that Alliance, and this paſt current in the Houſe of Commons, without any Debate or Enquiry into it; for every thing was acceptable there, that loaded that Treaty, and theſe Lords: But they did not conſider, that by this they declared, they thought the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right to that Succeſſion; yet this was not intended by thoſe, who managed the Party, who had not hitherto given any countenance to the Emperor's pretenſions: So apt are Parties to make uſe of any thing that may ſerve a turn, without conſidering the conſequences of it.

The Earl of Orford's Anſwer.

The Earl of Orford put in his Anſwer in four days. He ſaid he had no Grant of the King, but a Reverſion at a great diſtance, and a Gift of ten thouſand Pounds, after he had defeated the French at La Hogue, which he thought he might lawfully accept of, as all others before him had done: He opened Kid's matter, in which he had acted legally, with good intentions to the publick, and to his own loſs: His Accounts, while he commanded the Fleet, had been all examined and were paſt; but he was ready to wave that, and to juſtify himſelf in every particular, and he denied his having given any Advice about the Partition Treaty; This was immediately ſent down to the Commons: But they let it lie before them, without coming to a replication; which is only a piece of Form, by which they undertake to make good their charge.

Articles of Impeachment againſt Lord Somers.

Articles were next ſent up againſt the Lord Somers. In theſe the two Partition Treaties were copiouſly ſet forth, and it was laid down for a foundation, that the King was bound to maintain the Emperor's right of Succeſſion to the Crown of Spain. Lord Somers was charged, for ſetting the Seals, firſt to the Powers and then to the Treaties themſelves: He was alſo charged, for accepting ſome Grants; and the manner of taking them was repreſented as fraudulent, he ſeeming to buy them of the King, and then getting himſelf diſcharged

of

of the Price contracted for. Kid's buſineſs was alſo mentioned, and dilatory and partial proceedings in Chancery were objected to him. He put in his Anſwer in a very few days: In the Partition Treaty, he ſaid, he had offered the King very faithful advice as a Counſellor, and had acted according to the duty of his Poſt, as Chancellor; So he had nothing more to anſwer for: As for his Grants, the King deſigned him a Grant to ſuch a value; The King was not deceived in the value; The manner of paſſing it, was according to the uſual methods of the Treaſury, in order to make a Grant ſure, and out of the danger of being avoided. Kid's buſineſs was opened, as was formerly ſet forth; and as to the Court of Chancery, he had applied himſelf wholly to the diſpatch of buſineſs in it, with little regard to his own health or quiet, and had acted according to the beſt of his judgment, without fear or favour. This was preſently ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, and upon that they were at a full ſtand: They framed no Articles againſt the Earl of Portland, which was repreſented to the King, as an expreſſion of their reſpect to him. 1701.

Lord Somers Anſwer.

Some time after this, near the end of the Seſſion, they ſent up Articles againſt the Lord Halifax, which I mention here, that I may end this matter all at once. They charged him for a Grant that he had in Ireland, and that he had not pay'd in the produce of it, as the Act concerning thoſe Grants had enacted: They charged him for another Grant, out of the Foreſt of Dean, to the waſte of the Timber, and prejudice of the Navy of England: They charged him, for holding Places that were incompatible, being at the ſame time both a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Auditor of the Exchequer; and in concluſion, he was charged for adviſing the two Partition Treaties. He was as quick with his Anſwer as the other Lords had been; He ſaid, his Grant in Ireland was

Articles of Impeachment againſt Lord Halifax.

Lord Halifax's Anſwer.

1701. was of ſome Debts and Sums of Money, and ſo was not thought to be within the Act concerning confiſcated Eſtates. All he had ever received of it was four hundred pounds. If he was bound to repay it, he was liable to an action for it; but every man was not to be impeached, who did not pay his Debts at the day of payment. His Grant in the Foreſt of Dean was only of the Weedings; ſo it could be no waſte of Timber, nor a prejudice to the Navy: The Auditor's place was held by another, till he obtained the King's leave to withdraw from the Treaſury: As for the firſt Partition Treaty, he never once ſaw it, nor was he ever adviſed with in it: As for the ſecond, he gave his Advice very freely about it, at the ſingle time, in which he had ever heard any thing concerning it. This was ſent down to the Commons, but was never ſo much as once read by them. When, by theſe Articles and the Anſwers to them, it appeared, that after all the noiſe and clamour that had been raiſed againſt the former Miniſtry (more particularly againſt the Lord Halifax) for the great waſte of Treaſure, during their Adminiſtration, that now, upon the ſtricteſt ſearch, all ended in ſuch poor accuſations; it turned the minds of many that had been formerly prejudiced againſt them. It appeared, that it was the animoſity of a Party at beſt, if it was not a French practice, to ruin men who had ſerved the King faithfully, and to diſcourage others, from engaging themſelves ſo far in his Intereſts, as theſe Lords had done. They ſaw the effect that muſt follow on this; and that the King could not enter upon a new War, if they could diſcourage from his Service all the men of lively and active tempers, that would raiſe a ſpirit in the Nation, for ſupporting ſuch an important and dangerous War, as this now in proſpect was like to prove.

The Proceedings of Parliament much cenſured.

This gave a general diſguſt to all England, more particularly to the City of London, where

Foreign

Foreign affairs and the intereſt of Trade were generally better underſtood. The old Eaſt-India Company, tho' they hated the Miniſtry that ſet up the new, and ſtudied to ſupport this Houſe of Commons, from whom they expected much favour; yet they, as well as the reſt of the City, ſaw viſibly that firſt the ruin of Trade, and then, as a conſequence of that, the ruin of the Nation muſt certainly enſue, if France and Spain were once firmly united: So they began openly to condemn the proceedings of the Commons, and to own a jealouſy, that the Louis d'Ors ſent hither of late, had not come over to England for nothing. This diſpoſition to blame the ſlowneſs in which the Houſe of Commons proceeded, with relation to Foreign Affairs, and the heat with which private quarrels were purſued, began to ſpread itſelf thro' the whole Nation. Thoſe of the County of Kent ſent up a Petition to the Houſe, deſiring them to mind the Publick more, and their private heats leſs, and to turn their Addreſſes to the King to Bills of Supplies, to enable him both to protect the Nation, and to defend our Allies. This was brought up by ſome Perſons of Quality, and was preſented by them to the Houſe: But it was looked on as a Libel on their Proceedings; and the Gentlemen, who brought it up, were ſent to Priſon; where they lay till the Prorogation, but they were much viſited, and treated as Confeſſors. This was highly cenſured; it was ſaid, the Commons were the Creatures of the People, and upon all other occaſions, they uſed to favour and encourage Petitions: This ſeverity was condemned therefore as unnatural, and without a precedent: It was much queſtioned, whether they had really an Authority to impriſon any except their own Members, or ſuch as had violated the Privilege of their Houſe: But the Party thought it was convenient, by ſuch an unuſual ſeverity, to diſcourage others from following the example ſet them by

1701.

The Kentiſh Petition.

thoſe

1701. thoſe of Kent; for a deſign was laid to get addreſſes of the ſame nature, from all parts of the Kingdom, chiefly from the City of London. The Miniſters repreſented to the King, what an indignity this would be to the Houſe of Commons; and that, if he did not diſcourage it, he might look for unacceptable things from them. It might rather diſcourage, than give heart to our Allies, if they ſhould ſee ſuch a disjointing, and both City and Country in an oppoſition to the Houſe of Commons. Some went, in his Name, to the eminent Men of the City, to divert it, yet with all this it came ſo near, for ſuch an Addreſs, in a Common Council, that the Lord Mayor's Vote turned it for the Negative, ſo that fell. But a diſpoſition to a War, and to a more hearty concurrence with the King, appeared to be the general ſenſe of the Nation, and this had a great effect on the Houſe of Commons: They began to talk of a War as unavoidable; and when the Seſſion drew near an end, they, by an Addreſs deſired the King to enter into ſuch Alliances with the Emperor, and other States and Princes, as were neceſſary for the ſupport of us and our Allies, and to bring down the exorbitant Power of France. This was oppoſed with great zeal by thoſe, who were looked on as the chief Conductors of the Jacobite Party, tho' many, who had in other things gone along with them, thought this was the only means that were left, to recover their Credit with the people; for the current ran ſo ſtrong for a War, that thoſe, who ſtruggled againſt it, were looked on as little better than publick Enemies. They had found good Funds for a Million and a half: It is true, one of theſe was very unacceptable to the King: It was obſerved, that the allotment for the Civil Liſt did far exceed the ſum that was deſigned, which was only ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and that, as King James's Queen would not take her Jointure, ſo by the Duke of Gloceſter's death,

the charge on it was now leſs than when it was granted; ſo they took almoſt four thouſand pounds a Week out of the Exciſe, and, upon an Aſſignation made of that for ſome years, a great ſum was raiſed. This was very ſenſible to the Court, and the new Miniſters found it no eaſy thing to maintain, at the ſame time, their Intereſt both with the King and their Party: This matter was at laſt yielded to by the King. All the remainder of this Seſſion relates to the Impeachments. 1701.

The Lords had reſolved to begin with the Trial of the Earl of Orford; becauſe the Articles againſt him were the firſt that were brought up; and ſince the Commons made no Replication, the Lords, according to clear Precedents, named a day for his Trial, and gave notice of it to the Houſe of Commons: Upon this, the Commons moved the Lords, to agree to name a Committee of both Houſes for ſettling the Preliminaries of the Trial, and they named two Preliminaries; One was, that the Lord who was to be tried, ſhould not ſit as a Peer; the other was, that thoſe Lords, who were impeached for the ſame matter, might not vote in the Trial of one another: They alſo acquainted the Lords, that the courſe of their Evidence led them to begin with the Lord Somers. The Lords judged their laſt demand reaſonable, and agreed to it; but diſagreed to the others. They conſidered themſelves as a Court of Juſtice, and how great ſoever the regard due to the Houſe of Commons might be, in all other reſpects, yet in matters of Juſtice, where they were the Accuſers, they could only be conſidered as Parties. The King, when he had a Suit with a Subject, ſubmitted to the equality of Juſtice; So the Commons ought to pretend to no advantage over a ſingle perſon, in a Trial: A Court of Juſtice ought to hear the demands of both Parties pleaded fairly, and then to judge impartially; A Committee named by one of the Parties, to ſit in an

Meſſages paſt between the Two Houſes.

equality

1701. equality with the Judges, and to ſettle matters relating to the Trial, was a thing practiſed in no Court or Nation, and ſeemed contrary to the principles of Law or rules of Juſtice: By theſe means, they could at leaſt delay Trials, as long as they pleaſed, and all delays of juſtice are real and great injuſtices. This had never been demanded but once, in the caſe of the Popiſh Plot; then it was often refuſed; it is true, it was at laſt yielded to by the Lords, tho' with great oppoſition; That was a caſe of Treaſon, in which the King's Life and the Safety of the Nation was concerned; There was then a great jealouſy of the Court, and of the Lords that belonged to it; and the Nation was in ſo great a ferment, that the Lords might at that time yield to ſuch a motion, tho' it derogated from their Judicature: That ought not to be ſet up for a precedent for a quiet time, and in a caſe pretended to be no more than a Miſdemeanor: So the Lords reſolved not to admit of this, but to hear whatſoever ſhould be propoſed by the Commons, and to give them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction in it. The chief point in queſtion, in the year 1679, was, how far the Biſhops might ſit and vote in Trials of Treaſon; but without all diſpute, they were to vote in Trials for Miſdemeanors. It was alſo ſettled in the caſe of the Lord Mordaunt, that a Lord tried for a Miſdemeanor was to ſit within the Bar. In all other Courts, men tried for ſuch Offences came within the Bar. This was ſtronger in the caſe of a Peer, who by his Patent had a Seat in that Houſe, from which nothing but a judgment of the Houſe, for ſome offence, could remove him: They indeed found that, in King James the Firſt's time, the Earl of Middleſex, being accuſed of Miſdemeanors, was brought to the Bar; but as that proſecution was violent, ſo there had been no later precedent of that kind, to govern proceedings by it: There had been many ſince that time,

and

and it had been ſettled, as a rule for future times, 1701.
that Peers tried for ſuch Offences were to ſit within the Bar. The other Preliminary was, that Peers accuſed for the ſame Offence, might not vote in the Trials of the others: The Lords found that a right of voting was ſo inherent in every Peer in all cauſes, except where himſelf was a Party, that it could not be taken from him, but by a ſentence of the Houſe; a Vote of the Houſe could not deprive him of it: Otherwiſe, a Majority might upon any pretence deny ſome Peers their right of voting, and the Commons, by impeaching many Peers at once, for the ſame offence, might exclude as many Lords as they pleaſed from judging: It was alſo obſerved, that a man might be a judge in any cauſe, in which he might be a Witneſs: And it was a common practice to bring perſons, charged with the ſame offence, if they were not in the ſame Indictment, to witneſs the facts, with which they themſelves were charged, in another Indictment; and a parity of reaſon appeared in the caſe of Lords, who were charged in different Impeachments, for the ſame facts, that they might be judges in one another's Trials. Upon theſe points, many Meſſages paſſed between the Two Houſes, with ſo much precipitation, that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh, between the Anſwers and the Replies: The Commons ſtill kept off the Trial, by affected delays. It was viſible, that when a Trial ſhould come on, they had nothing to charge theſe Lords with: So the Leaders of the Party ſhewed their ſkill, in finding out excuſes, to keep up the clamour, and to hinder the matters from being brought to an iſſue: The main point, that was ſtill inſiſted on, was a Committee of both Houſes; ſo according to the forms of the Houſe, it was brought to a free Conference.

In it, the Lord Haverſham, ſpeaking to the point of Lords being partial in their own caſes, and therefore not proper judges, ſaid that the

1701. House of Commons had plainly shewed their partiality, in impeaching some Lords for facts, in which others were equally concerned with them, who yet were not impeached by them, tho' they were still in credit and about the King; which shewed, that they thought neither the one nor the other were Guilty. The Commons thought, they had now found an occasion of quarrelling with the Lords, which they were looking for; So they immediately withdrew from the Conference, tho' they were told that the Lord Haversham spoke only his own private sense, and not by any direction from the House. The House of Commons sent up a Complaint to the Lords, of this Reflection on their Proceedings, as an indignity done them, for which they expected Reparation: Upon this, the Lord Haversham offered himself to a Trial, and submitted to any Censure, that the Lords should think he had deserved; but insisted that the words must first be proved, and he must be allowed to put his own sense on them; The Lords sent this to the Commons, but they seemed to think that the Lords ought to have proceeded to censure him in a summary way, which the Lords thought, being a Court of Judicature, they could not do, till the words were proved, and the importance of them discussed.

The Lords tried and acquitted.

The House of Commons had now got a pretence to justify their not going further in these Trials; and they resolved to insist upon it: They said, they could expect no justice, and therefore they could not go on with the prosecutions of their Impeachments: And a day being set for the Lord Somers's Trial, they excepting still, it was put off for some time, at last a peremptory day was fixed for it; But the Commons refused to appear, and said they were the only Judges, when they were ready with their Evidence, and that it was a mockery, to go to a Trial, when they were not ready to appear at it. There were great and

long

long Debates upon this in the Houſe of Lords: 1701.
The new Miniſtry, and all the Jacobites joined to ſupport the pretenſions of the Commons; every ſtep was to be made by a Vote, againſt which many Lords proteſted; and the reaſons given, in ſome of their proteſtations, were thought to be ſo injurious to the Houſe, that they were by a Vote ordered to be expunged; a thing that ſeldom happens. When the day ſet for the Trial came, the other Lords, who were alſo impeached, aſked the leave of the Houſe to withdraw, and not to ſit and vote in it; This was granted them, tho' it was much oppoſed and proteſted againſt by the Tory Party, becauſe the giving ſuch leave, ſuppoſed that they had a right to vote: The Lords went down in Form to Weſtminſter-Hall, where the Articles againſt the Lord Somers were firſt read; Lord Somers's Anſwers were next read; and none appearing to make good the charge, the Lords came back to their Houſe, where they had a long and warm Debate of many hours, concerning the Queſtion that was to be put; The Judges told them, that, according to the Forms of Law, it ought to be Guilty, or not Guilty: But thoſe of the Party ſaid, as it was certain, that none could vote him Guilty, ſo ſince the Houſe of Commons had not come to make good the charge, they could not vote him not Guilty; ſo to give them ſome content, the Queſtion, agreed on to be put, was, whether he ought to be acquitted of the Impeachment or not? That being ſettled, the Lords went again to the Hall, and the Queſtion being put, fifty ſix voted in the Affirmative, and thirty one in the Negative. Upon this, the Houſe of Commons paſſed ſome high Votes againſt the Lords, as having denied them juſtice, and having obſtructed the publick proceedings; and called the Trial a pretended Trial. The Lords went as high in their Votes againſt the Commons; and each Houſe ordered a Narrative of the proceed-

1701. ings to be publiſhed, for ſatisfying the Nation. A few days after this, the Earl of Orford's Trial came on, but all the Lords of the other ſide withdrawing, there was no diſpute; So he was acquitted by an unanimous Vote. The Lords did alſo acquit both the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Halifax; and becauſe the Commons had never inſiſted on their proſecution of the Duke of Leeds, which they had begun ſome years before, they likewiſe acquitted him, and ſo this contentious Seſſion came to an end. The Two Houſes had gone ſo far in their Votes againſt one another, that it was believed they would never meet again: The proceedings of the Lords had the general approbation of the Nation on their ſide: Moſt of the Biſhops adhered to the impeached Lords, and their behaviour on this occaſion was much commended: I bore ſome ſhare in thoſe Debates, perhaps more than became me, conſidering my ſtation and other circumſtances: But as I was convinced of the innocence of the Lords, ſo I thought the Government itſelf was ſtruck at; and therefore when I apprehended all was in danger, I was willing to venture every thing in ſuch a quarrel: The violence, as well as the folly of the Party, loſt them much ground, with all indifferent men; but with none more, than with the King himſelf; who found his error, in changing his Miniſtry at ſo critical a time; and he now ſaw, that the Tories were at heart irreconcilable to him; in particular, he was extream uneaſy with the Earl of Rocheſter, of whoſe imperious and intractable temper, he complained much, and ſeemed reſolved to diſengage himſelf quickly from him, and never to return to him any more. He thought the Party was neither ſolid nor ſincere, and that they were actuated by paſſion and revenge, without any views with relation to our quiet at home, or to our affairs abroad.

But

But having now given an account of the Seſſion of Parliament, I turn to another ſcene: When the new Miniſtry undertook to ſerve the King, one of their Demands was, that a Convocation ſhould have leave to ſit, which was promiſed, and it ſate this Winter: Dr. Atterbury's Book, concerning the Rights of a Convocation, was reprinted with great Corrections and Additions: The firſt Edition was drawn out of ſome imperfect and diſorderly Collections, and he himſelf ſoon ſaw that, notwithſtanding the aſſurance and the virulence with which it was writ, he had made many great miſtakes in it: So, to prevent a diſcovery from other hands, he corrected his Book, in many important matters: Yet he left a great deal of matter to thoſe who anſwered him, and did it with ſuch a ſuperiority of Argument and of Knowledge in theſe matters, that his inſolence in deſpiſing theſe Anſwers, was as extraordinary, as the Parties adhering to him after ſuch manifeſt diſcoveries. Dr. Kennet laid him ſo open, not only in many particulars, but in a thread of ignorance that ran thro' his whole Book, that if he had not had a meaſure of confidence peculiar to himſelf, he muſt have been much humbled under it. The Clergy hoped to recover many loſt Privileges, by the help of his performances: They fancied they had a right to be a part of the Parliament; ſo they looked on him as their Champion, and on moſt of the Biſhops, as the Betrayers of the Rights of the Church: This was encouraged by the new Miniſtry: They were diſpleaſed with the Biſhops, for adhering to the old Miniſtry; and they hoped, by the Terror of a Convocation, to have forced them to apply to them for ſhelter. The Jacobites intended to put us all in ſuch a flame, as they hoped would diſorder the Government. The things the Convocation pretended to, were firſt, that they had a right to ſit whenſoever the Parliament ſate: So that they could not be prorogued, but when the Two Houſes were prorogued:

1701.

A Convocation of the Clergy met.

1701. Next they advanced, that they had no need of a Licence to enter upon Debates, and to prepare matters, tho' it was confeſſed, that the Practice for an hundred years was againſt them: But they thought the Convocation lay under no farther reſtraint, than that the Parliament was under; and as they could paſs no Act without the Royal Aſſent; ſo they confeſſed that they could not enact or publiſh a Canon without the King's Licenſe. Antiently the Clergy granted their own Subſidies apart, but ever ſince the Reformation, the Grant of the Convocation was not thought good, till it was ratified in Parliament: But the Rule of Subſidies being ſo high on the Clergy, they had ſubmitted to be taxed by the Houſe of Commons, ever ſince the year 1665, tho' no Memorials were left to inform us, how that matter was conſented to ſo generally, that no oppoſition of any ſort was made to it: The giving of Money being yielded up, which was the chief buſineſs of Convocations, they had after that nothing to do; ſo they ſate only for Form's ſake, and were adjourned of courſe; nor did they ever pretend, notwithſtanding all the danger that Religion was in during the former Reigns, to ſit and act as a Synod; but now this was demanded as a Right, and they complained of their being ſo often prorogued, as a violation of their Conſtitution, for which all the Biſhops, but more particularly the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was cried out on: They ſaid, that he and the Biſhops looked ſo much to their own Intereſts, that they forgot the Intereſts of the Church, or rather betrayed them: The greater part of the Clergy were in no good temper; they hated the Toleration, and were heavily charged with the Taxes, which made them very uneaſy; and this diſpoſed them to be ſoon inflamed by thoſe, who were ſeeking out all poſſible methods to di order our affairs: They hoped to have engaged them againſt the Supremacy, and reckoned, that in the feeble ſtate to which

which the Government was now brought, they might hope either to wreſt it quite from the Crown, and then it would fall into the management of the Houſe of Commons: Or if the King ſhould proceed againſt them according to the Statute, and ſue them in a Premunire, this might unite the Clergy into ſuch an oppoſition to the Government, as would probably throw us into great Convulſions: But many aſpiring men among them, had no other deſign, but to force themſelves into Preferment, by the oppoſition they made. In the Writ that the Biſhops had, ſummoning them to Parliament, the Clauſe, known by the firſt word of it, "Premunientes," was ſtill continued; at firſt, by virtue of it, the inferior Clergy were required to come to Parliament, and to conſent to the Aids there given: But after the Archbiſhops had the provincial Writ, for a Convocation of the Province, the other was no more executed, tho' it was ſtill kept in the Writ, and there did not appear the leaſt ſhadow of any uſe that had been made of it, for ſome hundreds of years; yet now ſome Biſhops were prevailed on, to execute this Clauſe, and to ſummon the Clergy by virtue of it: The Convocation was opened with Speeches, full of ſharp Reflections on the Biſhops, which they paſt over, being unwilling to begin a Diſpute. 1701.

They diſpute the Archbiſhop's Power of adjourning them.

Dr. Hooper, Dean of Canterbury was choſen Prolocutor, a man of Learning and good conduct hitherto; he was reſerved, crafty and ambitious; his Deanery had not ſoften'd him, for he thought he deſerved to be raiſed higher. The conſtant method of Adjournments had been this; the Archbiſhop ſigned a Schedule for that purpoſe, by which the Upper Houſe was immediately adjourned, and that being ſent down to the Prolocutor, did alſo adjourn the Lower Houſe: The Clergy perceiving that, by this means, the Archbiſhop could adjourn them at pleaſure, and either hinder or break off all Debates, reſolved to begin at diſ-

1701. puting this point: and they brought a Paper to the Upper Houſe, in which they aſſerted their right of Adjourning themſelves, and cited ſome Precedents for it: To this, the Biſhops drew a very copious anſwer, in which all their Precedents were examined and anſwered, and the matter was ſo clearly ſtated, and ſo fully proved, that we hoped we had put an end to the Diſpute: The Lower Houſe ſat for ſome time about the Reply to this; but inſtead of going on with that, they deſired a free Conference, and began to affect, in all their Proceedings, to follow the methods of the Houſe of Commons: The Biſhops reſolved not to comply with this, which was wholly new: They had, upon ſome occaſions, called up the Lower Houſe to a conference, in order to the explaining ſome things to them; but the Clergy had never taken upon them, to deſire a Conference with the Biſhops before; ſo they reſolved not to admit of it, and told them, they expected an anſwer to the Paper they had ſent them: The Lower Houſe reſolved not to comply with this, but on the contrary, to take no more notice of the Archbiſhop's Adjournments: They did indeed obſerve the rule of adjourning themſelves to the day, which the Archbiſhop had appointed in his Schedule, but they did it as their own Act, and they adjourned themſelves to intermediate days.

They Cenſure Books.

That they might expreſs a zeal in the matters of Religion, they reſolved to proceed againſt ſome bad Books: They began with one, entitled, Chriſtianity not Myſterious, wrote by one Toland, a man of a bold and petulant wit, who paſſed for a Socinian, but was believed to be a man of no Religion: They drew ſome propoſitions out of this Book, but did it with ſo little judgment, that they paſſed over the worſt that were in it, and ſingled out ſome, that how ill ſoever they were meant, yet were capable of a good ſenſe: They brought up the Cenſure that they had paſt on this Book, to the

the Biſhops, and deſired them to agree to their Reſolutions: This ſtruck ſo directly at the Epiſcopal Authority, that it ſeemed ſtrange to ſee men, who had ſo long aſſerted the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, and that Preſbyters were only their Aſſiſtants and Council (according to the Language of all Antiquity) now aſſume to themſelves the moſt important Act of Church Government, the judging in Points of Doctrine: In this it appeared, how ſoon mens Intereſts and Paſſions can run them from one extreme to another: The Biſhops ſaw, that their deſign in this was only to gain ſome credit to themſelves, by this ſhew of zeal for the great Articles of Religion; ſo they took advice of men learned in the Law, how far the Act of Submiſſion in the twenty fifth of Henry the Eighth did reſtrain them in this caſe. There had been the like complaint made in the Convocation 1698, of many ill Books then publiſhed: and the Biſhops had then adviſed both with Civilians and Common Lawyers in this matter: They were anſwered, that every Biſhop might proceed in his own Court, againſt the Authors or Spreaders of ill Books, within his Dioceſe: But they did not know of any Power the Convocation had to do it; it did not ſo much as appear, that they could ſummon any to come before them: And when a Book was publiſhed, with the Author's Name to it, the condemning it, without hearing the Author upon it, ſeemed contrary to the common rules of Juſtice. It did not ſeem to be a Court at all, and ſince no Appeal lay from it, it certainly could not be a Court, in the firſt inſtance. When this Queſtion was now again put to Lawyers, ſome were afraid, and others were unwilling to anſwer it: But Sir Edward Northey, afterwards made Attorney General, thought the condemning Books was a thing of great conſequence; ſince the Doctrine of the Church might be altered, by condemning Explanations of one ſort, and allowing thoſe of another; 1701.

1701. ther; and ſince the Convocation had no Licence from the King, he thought that, by meddling in that matter, they ſhould incur the Pains in the Statute; ſo all further Debate of this matter was let fall by the Biſhops. The Lower Houſe going on, to ſit in intermediate days, many of the moſt eminent and learned among them, not only refuſed to ſit with them on thoſe days, but thought it was incumbent on them, to proteſt againſt their Proceedings; but the Lower Houſe refuſing to ſuffer this to be enter'd in their Books, they ſignified it in a Petition to the Archbiſhop. The Party ſitting alone, in thoſe intermediate days, they entered into ſuch a ſecrecy, that it could not be known what they ſate ſo cloſe upon: So the Archbiſhop appointed five Biſhops, together with ten they ſhould name, as a Committee to examine their Books; but tho' this had been often done, yet, upon this occaſion, the Lower Houſe refuſed to comply with it, or to name a Committee: This was ſuch an unprecedented invaſion of the Epiſcopal Authority, that the Upper Houſe reſolved to receive nothing from them, till that irregularity was ſet right.

And complain of my Expoſition.

Hereupon they, being highly incenſed againſt me, cenſured my Expoſition of the Articles, which, in imitation of the General Impeachments by the Houſe of Commons, they put in three General Propoſitions: Firſt, That it allowed a diverſity of Opinions, which the Articles were framed to avoid. Secondly, That it contained many Paſſages contrary to the true meaning of the Articles, and to other received Doctrines of our Church. Thirdly, That ſome things in it were of dangerous conſequence to the Church, and derogated from the honour of the Reformation. What the particulars, to which theſe general Heads referred, were, could never be learned: this was a Secret lodged in confiding hands: I begg'd, that the Archbiſhop would diſpenſe with the Order made, againſt further

ther communication with the Lower Houſe, as to this matter: But they would enter into no particulars, unleſs they might at the ſame time offer ſome other matters, which the Biſhops would not admit of. 1701.

In theſe Proceedings the Biſhops were unanimous, except the Biſhops of London, Rocheſter, and Exeter: The Biſhop of London had been twice diſappointed of his hopes, of being advanced to the See of Canterbury; ſo for ſeveral years he was engaged with the Tory Party, and oppoſed the Court in every thing, but with little force or authority: The Biſhop of Rocheſter had been deeply engaged in the former Reigns, and he ſtuck firm to the Party, to which, by reaſon of the liberties of his Life, he brought no ſort of honour. Theſe Biſhops gave no great reputation to the proceedings of the Lower Houſe, to which they adhered: They likewiſe entered their Diſſent to the Reſolutions taken in the Upper Houſe. From the fire raiſed thus in Convocation, a great heat was ſpread thro' the whole Clergy of the Kingdom: it alienated them from their Biſhops, and raiſed Factions among them every where.

The King was ſtill reſerved.

Thus ended the Seſſion of Parliament and Convocation, which had the worſt aſpect of any, that had ſate during this Reign. The new Miniſters preſſed the King often to diſſolve the Commiſſion, that recommended to Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, and to turn out ſome of the Whigs, who were in Imployments, the Lord Haverſham in particular, who was in the Admiralty: But the King could not be prevailed on to do any thing; yet he kept himſelf ſo much on the reſerve, that when he went out of England, it was not certainly known, whether he intended to diſſolve the Parliament or not. When the King came to the Hague, he found the Negotiation with France quite at an end; the King of France had recalled his Miniſter; the States had encreaſed their Force, and the French were

1701. were very ſtrong in their Neighbourhood: So that though no War was actually declared, yet it was very near breaking out.

Prince Eugene marched into Italy.

The Emperor's Army was now got into Italy: The entrance towards Verona was ſtopt by the French; but Prince Eugene came in by Vincenza; and when the Reinforcements and Artillery came up to him, he made a feint of paſſing the Po near Ferrara; and having thus amuſed the French, he paſſed the Adige near Carpi, where a Body of five thouſand French lay; theſe he routed, ſo the French retired to the Mincio: He followed them, and paſſed that River in their ſight, without any oppoſition: The French Army was commanded by the Duke of Savoy, with him were the Mareſchal Catinat, and the Prince of Vaudemont, Governor of Milan: Theſe differed in opinion; the Duke of Savoy was for fighting; Catinat and Prince Vaudemont were againſt it: So the Mareſchal Villeroy was ſent thither, with Orders to fight. Catinat, who was the beſt General the French had left, looking on this as a Diſgrace, retired and languiſhed for ſome time; yet he recovered. There were many ſmall engagements of Parties ſent out on both ſides, in which the Germans had always the better; yet this did not diſcourage Villeroy, from venturing to attack them in their Camp at Chiari; but they were ſo well entrenched, and defended themſelves with ſo much reſolution, that the French were forced to draw off with great loſs; about five thouſand of them were killed, whereas the loſs of the Germans was inconſiderable. Sickneſs likewiſe broke in upon the French, ſo that their Army was much diminiſhed; and after this, they were not in a condition to undertake any thing. Prince Eugene lay for ſome time in his Camp at Chiari, ſending out Parties as far as the Adda, who meeting oft with Parties of the French, had always the advantage, killing ſome, and taking many Priſoners: For ſeveral months, Prince Eugene had no place of defence

defence to retire to; his Camp was all; ſo that a blow given him there, muſt have ruined his whole Army. Towards the end of the Campaign, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Mantuan Territory, except Mantua and Goits; he blockt them both up; and when the Seaſon obliged the French to go into Quarters, he took all the Places on the Oglio, and continued in motion the whole following Winter. The French had no other Enemy to deal with, ſo they poured in their whole force upon him: He was then but a young man, and had little aſſiſtance from thoſe about him, and none at all during the Summer from the Princes and States of Italy: For the Pope and the Venetians pretended to maintain a Neutrality, tho' upon many occaſions, the Pope ſhewed great partiality to the French: The People indeed favoured him, ſo that he had good and ſeaſonable Intelligence brought him of all the motions of the French: and in his whole Conduct, he ſhewed both a depth of contrivance, and an exactneſs in execution, with all the courage, but without any of the raſhneſs of youth. 1701.

His attempt upon Cremona.

But to carry on the ſeries of his motions as far as this period of my Hiſtory goes, his attempt in January following upon Cremona, had almoſt proved a deciſive one. Mareſchal Villeroy lay there with ſix or ſeven thouſand Men, and commanded a Bridge on the Po; Prince Eugene had paſt that River with a part of his Army; the Princeſs of Mirandola drove out the French, and received a Garriſon from him: The Duke of Modena put his Country in his hand, and gave him Berſello, the ſtrongeſt place of his Dominions: The Duke of Parma pretended he was the Pope's Vaſſal, and ſo put himſelf under the Protection of that See: Prince Eugene would not provoke the Pope too much, ſo he only marched thro' the Parmezan; here he laid the deſign of ſurpriſing Cremona, with ſo much ſecrecy, that the French had

1701. not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. Prince Eugene went to put himſelf at the head of a Body that he brought from the Oglio, and ordered another to come from the Parmezan at the ſame time, to force the Bridge. He marched with all ſecrecy to Cremona; at the ſame time, thro' the ruins of an old Aqueduct, he ſent in ſome Men, who got thro' and forced one of the Gates, ſo that he was within the Town, before Mareſchal Villeroy had any apprehenſion of an Enemy being near him: He wakened on the ſudden with the noiſe, got out to the Street, and there he was taken Priſoner. But the other Body did not come up critically, at the time appointed, ſo an Iriſh Regiment ſecured the Bridge: And thus the Deſign, that was ſo well contrived, and ſo happily executed in one part, did fail. Prince Eugene had but four thouſand Men with him, ſo that ſince the other Body could not join him, he was forced to march back, which he did without any conſiderable loſs, carrying Mareſchal Villeroy and ſome other Priſoners with him. In this attempt, tho' he had not an entire Succeſs, yet he gained all the Glory, to which the ambition of a Military Man could aſpire; ſo that he was looked on as the greateſt and happieſt General of the Age: He went on enlarging his Quarters, ſecuring all his Poſts, and ſtraitning the Blockade of Mantua, and was in perpetual motion during the whole Winter: The French were ſtruck with this ill ſucceſs; more Troops were ſent into Italy, and the Duke of Vendome went to command the Armies there.

King Philip at Barcelona.

The Duke of Savoy was preſſed to ſend his Forces thither: But he grew cold and backward: He had now gained all that he could promiſe himſelf from France: His ſecond Daughter was married to King Philip, and was ſent to him to Barcelona, and he came and met her there: Philip fell into an ill habit of Body, and had ſome returns of a Feveriſh Diſtemper: He had alſo great diſputes with

with the States of Catalonia, who, before they would grant him the Tax that was aſked of them, propoſed that all their Privileges ſhould be confirmed to them. This took up ſome time, and occaſioned many diſputes: all was ſettled at laſt; but their Grant was ſhort of what was expected, and did not defray the charges of the King's ſtay in the place. A great diſpoſition to revolt appeared in the Kingdom of Naples, and it broke out in ſome feeble attempts, that were ſoon maſtered; the Leaders of theſe were taken and executed: They juſtified themſelves by this Apology, that till the Pope granted the Inveſtiture, they could not be bound to obey the new King: The Duke of Medina was a ſevere Governor, both on his Maſter's account and on his own: Some of the Auſtrian Party made their eſcape to Rome and to Vienna: They repreſented to the Emperor, that the diſpoſition of the Country was ſuch, in his favour, that a ſmall Force of ten thouſand Men would certainly put that Kingdom wholly into his hands. Orders were upon that ſent to Prince Eugene, to ſend a Detachment into the Kingdom of Naples: But tho' he believed, a ſmall Force would ſoon reduce that Kingdom, yet he judged that ſuch a diminution of his own ſtrength, when the French were ſending ſo many Troops into the Milaneze, would ſo expoſe him, that it would not be poſſible to maintain a defenſive, with ſuch an unequal Force: Yet repeated Orders came to him to the ſame effect; but in oppoſition to thoſe, he made ſuch repreſentations, that at laſt it was left to himſelf, to do what he found ſafeſt and moſt for the Emperor's Service; with that the matter was let fall, and it ſoon appeared, that he had judged better than the Court of Vienna: but this was, by his Enemies, imputed to humour and obſtinacy; ſo that for ſome time after that, he was neither conſidered nor ſupported, as his great ſervices had deſerved. This might flow from envy and malice, which are the 1701.

1701. the ordinary growth of all Courts, chiefly of feeble ones: Or it might be a practice of the French, who had corrupted moſt Courts, and that of Vienna in particular; ſince nothing could more advance their ends, than to alienate the Emperor from Prince Eugene; which might ſo far diſguſt him, as to make him more remiſs in his Service.

The War in Poland.

Our Fleets lay all this Summer idle in our Seas, on a bare defenſive; while the French had many Squadrons in the Spaniſh Ports, and in the Weſt-Indies. In the North, the War went on ſtill; the King of Sweden paſſed the Duna, and fell on an Army of the Saxons, that lay on the other ſide, over againſt Riga, and routed them ſo entirely, that he was Maſter of their Camp and Artillery. From thence he marched into Courland, where no Reſiſtance was made: Mittaw the chief Town ſubmitted to him: The King of Poland drew his Army into Lithuania, which was much divided between the Sapichas and Oginſkis: So that all thoſe parts were breaking into much confuſion: The Court of Vienna pretended, they had made a great diſcovery of a Conſpiracy in Hungary: It is certain, the Germans play'd the Maſters very ſeverely in that Kingdom, ſo that all places were full of complaints, and the Emperor was ſo beſieged by the Authors of thoſe Oppreſſions, and the Proceedings were ſo ſummary upon very ſlight grounds, that it was not to be wondered, if the Hungarians were diſpoſed to ſhake off the yoke, when a proper opportunity ſhould offer itſelf: and it is not to be doubted, but the French had Agents among them, by the way of Poland as well as of Turkey, that ſo the Emperor might have work enough at home.

Several Negotiations.

This was the ſtate of the Affairs of Europe this Summer. Several Negotiations were ſecretly carried on; the Elector of Cologn was entirely gained to the French Intereſt, but was reſolved not to declare himſelf, till his Brother thought fit likewiſe

to

to do it: All the Progreſs that the French made with the two Brothers this Summer, was, that they declared for a Neutrality, and againſt a War with France: The Dukes of Wolfembuttle and Saxe Gotha, were alſo engaged in the ſame deſign; they made great Levies of Troops, beyond what they themſelves could pay, for which it was viſible that they were ſupplied from France: Here was a formidable appearance of great diſtractions in the Empire. An Alliance was alſo projected with the King of Portugal: His Miniſters were in the French Intereſts, but he himſelf inclined to the Auſtrian Family: He for ſome time affected Retirement, and avoided the giving Audience to Foreign Miniſters: He ſaw no good proſpect from England; ſo being preſſed to an alliance with France, his Miniſters got leave from him to propoſe one, on terms of ſuch advantage to him, that as it was not expected they could be granted, ſo it was hoped this would run into a long Negotiation: But the French were as liberal in making large promiſes, as they were perfidious in not obſerving them; ſo the King of France agreed to all that was propoſed, and ſigned a Treaty purſuant to it, and publiſhed it to the World: Yet the King of Portugal denied that he had conſented to any ſuch Project, and he was ſo hardly brought to ſign the Treaty, that when it was brought to him, he threw it down, and kickt it about the Room, as our Envoy wrote over: In concluſion however, he was prevailed on to ſign it; but it was generally thought, that when he ſhould ſee a good Fleet come from the Allies, he would obſerve this Treaty with the French, as they have done their Treaties with all the reſt of the World. Spain grew uneaſy and diſcontented under a French Management: The Grandees were little conſidered, and they ſaw great deſigns, for the better conduct of the Revenues of the Crown, likely to take place every where, which were very unacceptable to them, who minded no- 1701.

1701. thing ſo much as to keep up a vaſt Magnificence, at the King's Coſt. They ſaw themſelves much deſpiſed by their new Maſters, as there was indeed great cauſe for it; they had too much pride to bear this well, and too little courage to think how they ſhould ſhake it off.

A Parliament in Scotland.

But now to return to our affairs at home, the Duke of Queenſbury was ſent down to hold a Parliament in Scotland; where people were in ſo bad a humour, that much practice was neceſſary to bring them into any temper. They paſſed many angry Votes upon the buſineſs of Darien, but in concluſion the Seſſion ended well. The Army was reduced one half, and the Troops that were ordered to be broke, were ſent to the States, who were now encreaſing their Force. This Seſſion was chiefly managed by the Duke of Queenſbury and the Earl of Argyle, and in reward for it, the one had the Garter, and the other was made a Duke.

Affairs in Ireland.

In Ireland, the Truſtees went on to hear the Claims of the Iriſh, and in many caſes, they gave judgment in their favour. But now it began to appear, that whereas it had been given out, that the Sale of the confiſcated Eſtates would amount to a Million and a half, it was not like to riſe to the third part of that Sum: In the mean while, the Truſtees lived in great State there, and were Maſters of all the Affairs of that Kingdom: But no propoſitions were yet made for the purchaſing of thoſe Eſtates. During the King's abſence, the Nation was in a great ferment, which was increaſed by many Books that were wrote, to expoſe the late Management in the Houſe of Commons, and the new Miniſtry, the Earl of Rocheſter in particular, who was thought the driver of all violent motions. The few Books that were publiſhed, on the other ſide were ſo poorly writ, that it tempted one to think, they were writ by men who perſonated the being on their ſide, on deſign to expoſe them. The Earl of Rocheſter delayed his going to Ireland very

very long: He perceived that the King's heart was not with him, and was very uneasy at that; as on the other hand, the King complained much of his intractable temper and imperious manner, and by his intercourse with him, the King came to see that he was not the man he had taken him for; that he had no great nor clear notions of Affairs abroad; and that, instead of moderating the violence of his Party, he inflamed them; so that he often said, that the year, in which he directed the Councils, was one of the uneasiest of his whole Life. The Earl of Rochester finding the King's coldness towards him, expostulated with him upon it, and said, he could serve him no longer, since he saw he did not trust him. The King heard this with his usual flegm, and concluded upon it, that he should see him no more: But Harley made him a little more submissive and towardly. After the King was gone beyond Sea, he also went into Ireland; there he used much art in obliging people of all sorts, Dissenters as well as Papists; yet such confidence was put in him by the High Church Party, that they bore every thing at his hands: It was not easy to behave himself towards the Trustees, so as not to give a general distaste to the Nation, for they were much hated, and openly charged with partiality, injustice and corruption: That which gave the greatest disgust in his Administration there, was, his usage of the reduced Officers, who were upon half pay, a Fund being settled for that by Act of Parliament: They were ordered to live in Ireland, and to be ready for Service there. The Earl of Rochester called them before him, and required them to express under their hands their readiness to go and serve in the West-Indies. They did not comply with this; so he set them a day for their final Answer, and threaten'd, that they should have no more appointments, if they stood out beyond that time. This was represented to the King, as a great hardship put on them, and 1701.

1701. as done on design to leave Ireland destitute of the Service, that might be done by so many gallant Officers, who were all known to be well affected to the present Government: So the King ordered a stop to be put to it.

King James's Death.

I am now come to the last period of the Life of the unfortunate King James: He had led for above ten years, a very unactive life in France: After he had, in so poor a manner as was told, abandoned first England, and then Ireland, he had entered into two Designs, for recovering the Crowns, which he may be said more truly to have thrown away than lost: The one was broke by the defeat of the French Fleet at Sea before Cherburg, in the year 1692: The other seemed to be laid with more depth, as well as with more infamy, when an Army was brought to Dunkirk, and the design of the Assassination was thought sure, upon which it was reasonably hoped, that we must have fallen into such convulsions, that we should have been an easy prey to an Army ready to invade us. The reproach, that so black a contrivance cast upon him, brought him under so much contempt, that even the absolute Authority of the French Court could hardly prevail so far, as to have common respect paid him after that. He himself seemed to be the least concerned at all his misfortunes; and tho' his Queen could never give over meddling, yet he was the most easy, when he was least troubled with those airy Schemes, upon which she was still employing her thoughts. He went sometimes to the Monastery of La Trappe, where the poor Monks were much edified with his humble and pious deportment. Hunting was his chief diversion, and for the most part he led a harmless, innocent Life; being still very zealous about his Religion. In the opening of this year, he had been so near Death, that it was generally thought the decline of it would carry him off: He went to Bourbon, but had no benefit by the Waters there: In the beginning

beginning of September, he fell into ſuch fits, that it was concluded he could not live many days: The King of France came to ſee him, and ſeemed to be much touched with the ſight: He, with ſome difficulty, recommended his Queen and Son to his care and protection: The French King anſwered, he would reckon their Concerns as his own; and when he left him, he promiſed thoſe of his Court, that he would, upon King James's Death, own the Prince of Wales as King of England, and that he would take Care of them all. 1701.

King James died on the 6th day of September. He was a Prince that ſeemed made for greater things, than will be found in the courſe of his Life, more particularly of his Reign: He was eſteemed in the former parts of his Life, a Man of great Courage, as he was quite thro' it a man of great application to buſineſs: He had no vivacity of thought, invention or expreſſion: But he had a good judgment, where his Religion or his Education gave him not a biaſs, which it did very often: He was bred with ſtrange Notions of the Obedience due to Princes, and came to take up as ſtrange ones, of the Submiſſion due to Prieſts: He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity, and juſtice: But his Religion was ſo infuſed in him, and he was ſo managed in it by his Prieſts, that the Principles which Nature had laid in, had little power over him, when the concerns of his Church ſtood in the way: He was a gentle Maſter, and was very eaſy to all who came near him; yet he was not ſo apt to pardon, as one ought to be, that is the Vicegerent of that God, who is ſlow to anger, and ready to forgive: He had no perſonal Vices but of one ſort: He was ſtill wandering from one Amour to another, yet he had a real ſenſe of Sin, and was aſhamed of it: But Prieſts know how to engage Princes more entirely into their intereſts, by making them compound for their Sins, by a great zeal for Holy Church, as they call it. In a word, His Character.

1701. if it had not been for his Popery, he would have been, if not a great yet a good Prince. By what I once knew of him, and by what I ſaw him afterwards carried to, I grew more confirmed in the very bad opinion, which I was always apt to have, of the Intrigues of the Popiſh Clergy, and of the Confeſſors of Kings: He was undone by them, and was their Martyr, ſo that they ought to bear the chief load of all the errors of his inglorious Reign, and of its fatal Cataſtrophe. He had the Funeral which he himſelf had deſired, private, and without any ſort of Ceremony: As he was dying, he ſaid nothing concerning the Legitimacy of his Son, on which ſome made ſevere remarks: Others thought that, having ſpoken ſo oft of it before, he might not reflect on the fitneſs of ſaying any thing concerning it, in his laſt extremity. He recommended to him Firmneſs in his Religion, and Juſtice in his Government, if ever he ſhould come to reign. He ſaid, that by his practice, he recommended Chriſtian Forgiveneſs to him, for he heartily forgave both the Prince of Orange and the Emperor. It was believed, that the naming the Emperor was ſuggeſted to him by the French, to render the Emperor odious to all thoſe of that Religion.

The pretended Prince of Wales owned King by the French Court.

Upon his Death, it was debated in the French Council what was fit to be done, with relation to his pretended Son: The Miniſtry adviſed the King to be paſſive, to let him aſſume what Title he pleaſed, but that, for ſome time at leaſt, the King ſhould not declare himſelf: This might be ſome reſtraint on the King of England, whereas a preſent Declaration muſt precipitate a Rupture; but the Dauphin interpoſed with ſome heat, for the preſent owning him King: He thought the King was bound in honour to do it: He was of his Blood, and was driven away on the account of his Religion; ſo orders were given to proclaim him at St. Germains. The Earl of Mancheſter, then the

the King's Ambaſſador at Paris, told me, that his own Court was going about it; but a difficulty, propoſed by the Earl of Middletoun, put a ſtop to it: He apprehended, that it would look very ſtrange, and might provoke the Court of France, if among his Titles he ſhould be called King of France; and it might diſguſt their Party in England, if it was omitted: So that piece of Ceremony was not performed: Soon after this, the King of Spain owned him, ſo did the Pope and the Duke of Savoy: And the King of France preſſed all other Princes to do it, in whoſe Courts he had Miniſters, and prevailed on the Pope, to preſs the Emperor and other Popiſh Princes to own him, tho' without effect. The King looked upon this, as an open violation of the Treaty of Ryſwick, and he ordered the Earl of Mancheſter to leave that Court, without aſking an audience. The French pretended, that the bare owning of his Title, ſince they gave him no aſſiſtance to make good his claim, was not a breach of the Treaty: But this could not paſs on the World, ſince the owning his Right was a plain Declaration, that they would aſſiſt him in claiming it, whenſoever the ſtate of their affairs ſhould allow of it. 1701.

This gave a univerſal diſtaſte to the whole Engliſh Nation; all people ſeemed poſſeſſed with a high indignation upon it, to ſee a Foreign Power, that was at Peace with us, pretend to declare who ought to be our King: Even thoſe, who were perhaps ſecretly well pleaſed with it, were yet, as it were forced, for their own ſafety, to comply with the general ſenſe of the reſt in this matter: The City of London began, and all the Nation followed, in a ſet of Addreſſes, wherein they expreſt their abhorrence of what the French King had done, in taking upon him to declare who ſhould be their King, and renewed their Vow of Fidelity to the King, and to his Succeſſors, according to the Act of Settlement. A great diverſity of Stile appeared

With which the Engliſh Nation was inflamed.

1701. in these Addresses, some avoided to name the French King, the Prince of Wales, or the Act of settlement, and only reflected on the Transaction in France, in general and soft words: But others carried the matter farther, encouraging the King, to go on in his Alliances, promising him all faithful assistance in supporting them, and assuring him that, when he should think fit to call a new Parliament, they would chose such Members as should concur in enabling him to maintain his Alliances: This raised the Divisions of the Nation higher. All this Summer the King continued at Loo, in a very ill state of health: New methods gave some relief: But when he came to the Hague, on his way to England, he was for some days in so bad a Condition, that they were in great fear of his Life: He recovered, and came over in the beginning of November.

A new Parliament called.

The first thing that fell under Debate, upon his return was, whether the Parliament should be continued, or dissolved, and a new one called: Some of the leading Men of the former Parliament had been secretly askt, how they thought they would proceed, if they should meet again: Of these, while some answered doubtfully, others said positively, they would begin where they had left off, and would insist on their Impeachments. The new Ministry struggled hard against a Dissolution, and when they saw the King resolved on it, some of them left his Service. This convinced the Nation, that the King was not in a double game, which had been confidently given out before, and was too easily believed by many: The heats in Elections encreased with every new Summons. This was thought so critical a conjuncture, that both sides exerted their full strength. Most of the great Counties, and the chief Cities, chose Men that were zealous for the King and Government, but the rotten part of our Constitution, the small Burroughs, were in many places wrought on to choose bad

bad men; upon the whole however, it appeared, that a clear Majority was in the King's Intereſts, yet the activity of the angry ſide was ſuch, that they had a Majority in chooſing the Speaker, and in determining controverted Elections; but in matters of Publick concern, things went on as the King deſired, and as the Intereſt of the Nation required. 1701.

The King opened the Parliament with the beſt Speech that he, or perhaps any other Prince ever made to his People: He laid the ſtate of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, before them in a moſt pathetical manner: He preſt it upon them to conſider the dangers they were in, and not to encreaſe theſe, by new diviſions among themſelves: He expreſſed a readineſs to forgive all Offences againſt himſelf, and wiſhed they would as readily forgive one another; ſo that no other diviſion might remain, but that of Engliſh and French, Proteſtant and Papiſt: He had enter'd into ſome Alliances, purſuant to the Addreſſes of the laſt Parliament, and was negotiating ſome others, all which ſhould be laid before them, and this was accordingly done. Both Houſes began with Addreſſes, in which they did very fully renounce the Prince of Wales. The Houſe of Lords ordered that all ſuch as were willing to do it, ſhould ſign the Addreſs, that was enter'd into their Books. This was without a Precedent, and yet it was promoted by thoſe, who, as was thought, hoped by ſo unuſual a practice, to prevent any further proceedings on that head. No exception was made to any Article of the Alliances: One addition was only propoſed, that no Peace ſhould be made, till a full reparation was offered to the King, for the Indignity done him, by the French King's declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England; which was ſoon after propoſed to the Allies, and was agreed to by them all. By the Alliances, the King was obliged to furniſh forty thouſand Men to

The King's Speech.

All were for a War.

1701. to ſerve in the Armies, beſides what he was to do by Sea: All was conſented to in every particular; angry men ſhewed much rancour againſt the King, and tried to croſs every thing that was propoſed, both as to the Quotas of the Troops we were to furniſh, and as to the ſtrength of our Fleet. But the Publick Intereſt was now ſo viſible, and the concurrent ſenſe of the Nation ran ſo vehemently for a War, that even thoſe who were moſt averſe to it, found it convenient to put on the appearance of zeal for it. The City of London was now more united, than it had been at any time during this Reign, for the two Companies that traded to the Eaſt-Indies, ſaw that their Common Intereſt required they ſhould come to an agreement; and tho' men of ill deſigns did all they could to obſtruct it, yet in concluſion it was happily effected. This made the body of the City, which was formerly much divided between the two Companies, fall now into the ſame meaſures. But thoſe, who intended to defeat all this good beginning of the Seſſion, and to raiſe a new flame, ſet on Debates that muſt have embroil'd all again, if they had ſucceeded in their deſigns: They began with Complaints of ſome Petitions and Addreſſes, that had reflected on the Proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons; but it was carried againſt them, that it was the Right of the Subjects to petition as they thought themſelves aggrieved; yet they were not diſcouraged by this, but went on to complain, that the Lords had denied Juſtice in the matter of the Impeachments. This bore a long and hot Debate in a very full Houſe: But it was carried, tho' by a ſmall Majority, that Juſtice had not been denied them: After this, the Party gave over any farther ſtruggling, and things were carried on with more unanimity.

The pretended Prince of Wales attainted.

The Houſe of Commons began a Bill of Attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales. This could not be oppoſed, much leſs ſtopt; yet many ſhewed

ſhewed a coldneſs in it, and were abſent on the days in which it was ordered to be read: It was ſent up to the Lords, and it paſt in that Houſe, with an addition of an Attainder of the Queen, who acted as Queen Regent for him. This was much oppoſed; for no Evidence could be brought to prove that Allegation, yet the thing was ſo notorious, that it was paſt, and was ſent down again to the Commons. It was excepted to there as not regular, ſince but one Precedent in King Henry the Eighth's time was brought for it, and in that the Commons had added ſome names, by a clauſe in a Bill of Attainder, ſent down to them by the Lords; yet as this was a ſingle Precedent, ſo it ſeemed to be a hard one: Attainders by Bill were the greateſt rigours of the Law, ſo ſtretches in them ought to be avoided: It was therefore thought more proper to attaint her by a Bill apart, than by a Clauſe in another Bill: To this the Lords agreed, ſo the Bill againſt the pretended Prince of Wales paſt. The Lords alſo paſt a new Bill, attainting the Queen, but that was let ſleep in the Houſe of Commons. 1701.

The matter, that occaſioned the longeſt and warmeſt Debates in both Houſes, was an Act for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and for ſwearing to the King, by the Title of Rightful and Lawful King, and to his Heirs, according to the Act of Settlement: This was begun in the Houſe of Lords, and the firſt deſign was, that it ſhould be voluntary, it being only to be tender'd to all perſons, and their ſubſcription or refuſal to be recorded, without any other penalty. It was vehemently oppoſed by all the Tory Party, at the head of whom the Earl of Nottingham ſet himſelf. They who argued againſt it, ſaid, that this Government was firſt ſettled with another Oath, which was like an Original Contract, and it was unjuſt and unreaſonable to offer a new one: There was no need of new Oaths, as there was no new ſtrength

An Act for abjuring him.

1701. ſtrength got by them: Oaths, relating to mens opinions, had been always looked on as ſevere Impoſitions: A voluntary Oath ſeemed to be by its nature unlawful; for we cannot ſwear lawfully, unleſs we are required to do it. To all this it was anſwered, that in ancient time, the Oath of Allegiance was ſhort and ſimple, becauſe then it was not thought that Princes had any right, other than what was conveyed to them by Law: But of late, and indeed very lately, new Opinions had been ſtarted of a Divine Right, with which former times were not acquainted: So it was neceſſary to know, who among us adhered to theſe opinions: The preſent Government was begun upon a comprehenſive foot, it being hoped, that all Parties might have been brought to concur in ſupporting it: But the effects had not anſwered expectation: Diſtinctions had been made between a King de jure and a King de facto; whereby theſe men plainly declared, with whom they believed the right was lodged: This opinion muſt, whenſoever that Right comes to be claimed, oblige thoſe who hold it, to adhere to ſuch Claimers: It ſeemed therefore in ſome ſort neceſſary, that the Government ſhould know, on whom it might depend: The diſcrimination made, by ſuch a Teſt, was to be without compulſion or penalty; no hardſhip was put on any perſon by it: Thoſe who refuſed to give this ſecurity, would ſee what juſt cauſe of jealouſy they gave; and would thereby be obliged, to behave themſelves decently and with due caution: When a Government tender'd an Oath, tho' under no penalty, that was a ſufficient authority for all to take it, who were ſatisfied with the ſubſtance of it: While therefore, there was ſo great a power beyond Sea, that did ſo openly eſpouſe this young man's pretenſions, and while there was juſt grounds to ſuſpect, that many at home favoured him, it ſeemed very reaſonable to offer a method, by which it ſhould appear, who

obeyed

obeyed the preſent Government from a Principle, believing it Lawful, and who ſubmitted only to it, as to a proſperous Uſurpation. About twenty Lords perſiſted in their oppoſition to this Bill, thoſe who were for it being thrice that number: But, in the Houſe of Commons, when it appeared how the Lords were inclined. they reſolved to bring in a Bill, that ſhould oblige all perſons to take this Abjuration. It was drawn by Sir Charles Hedges: All Imployments in Church or State were to be ſubject to it: Some things were added to the Abjuration, ſuch as an obligation to maintain the Government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the Church of England, together with the Toleration for Diſſenters: Finch offered an alteration to the Clauſe, abjuring the Prince of Wales, ſo that it imported only an obligation not to aſſiſt him; but tho' he preſſed this with unuſual vehemence, in a Debate that he reſumed ſeventeen times in one Seſſion, againſt all rules, he had few to ſecond him in it: The Debate, whether the Oath ſhould be impoſed or left free, held longer; it was carried, but by one Vote, to impoſe it: The Party choſe that, rather than to have it left free; for they reckoned the taking an Oath that was impoſed, was a part of their ſubmiſſion to the Uſurpation; but the taking any Oath, that ſtrengthened the Government, of their own accord, did not ſuit with their other Principles: But to help the matter with a ſhew of zeal, they made the Clauſe that impoſed it very extenſive, ſo that it comprehended all Clergymen, Fellows of Colleges, Schoolmaſters, and private Tutors: The Clauſe of maintaining the Government in King, Lords, and Commons, was rejected with great indignation; ſince the Government was only in the King: The Lords and Commons being indeed a part of the Conſtitution, and of the Legiſlative Body, but not of the Government. This was a bare-faced Republican Notion, and was wont to

1701.

be

1701. be condemned as ſuch, by the ſame perſons who now preſſed it. It was farther ſaid, that if it appeared that our Conſtitution was in danger, it might be reaſonable to ſecure it by an Act and an Oath apart; but ſince the ſingle point, that required this Abjuration, was the French King's declaring, that the pretended Prince of Wales was our King, it was not fit to join matters foreign to that in this Oath: Upon the ſame reaſon, the Clauſe in favour of the Church, and of the Toleration were alſo laid aſide. The deſign of this Act was to diſcover to all, both at home and abroad, how unanimouſly the Nation concurred in abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales: But here was a clauſe, to one part of which (the maintaining the Church) the Diſſenters could not ſwear; and even the more moderate men of the Church, who did well approve of the Toleration, yet might think it too much to ſwear to maintain it; ſince it was reaſonable, to oblige the Diſſenters to uſe their Liberty modeſtly, by keeping them under the apprehenſion of having it taken away, if it was abuſed by them. One addition was offered, and received without any Debate about it, or the ſhadow of any oppoſition: It was declared to be High Treaſon, to endeavour to prevent or defeat the Princeſs's Right of Succeſſion: The Tories pretended great zeal for her, and gave it out that there was a deſign to ſet her aſide, and to have the Houſe of Hanover to ſucceed the King immediately; tho' it could never be made appear, that any motion of this kind had ever been either made or debated, even in private diſcourſe, by any of the whole Whig Party. Great endeavours were uſed, and not altogether without effect, to infuſe this jealouſy into the Princeſs, and into all about her, not without inſinuations, that the King himſelf was inclined to it. When this Clauſe was offered, its being without a Precedent, gave handle enough to oppoſe it,

it, yet there was not one Word ſaid in oppoſition to it, in either Houſe, all agreeing heartily in it. This ought to have put an end to the ſuſpicion, but ſurmiſes of that kind, when raiſed on deſign, are not ſoon parted with. 1701.

Affairs in Ireland.

Soon after the Seſſion was opened, the Earl of Rocheſter wrote to the King, and aſked leave to come over; it was ſoon granted, but when he ſignified this to the Council of Ireland, the whole Board joined in a requeſt to him, that he would lay before the King the great Grievances, under which the whole Kingdom lay, by the proceedings of the Truſtees, who ſtretched the Authority, that the Law gave them, in many inſtances, to the oppreſſing of the Nation: He ſeemed uneaſy at the motion, but promiſed to lay it before the King, which he did at his coming over. Soon after that, Petitions were ſent round all the Counties of Ireland, and ſigned by many, repreſenting both the hardſhips of the Act, and the ſevere methods the Truſtees took in executing it: All this was believed, to be ſet on ſecretly by the Court, in hope that ſome temper might be found in that matter, ſo that the King's Grants might again take place in whole or in part. The Houſe of Commons was moved, to proceed ſeverely againſt the Promoters of theſe Petitions; yet the complaining of Grievances, had been ſo often aſſerted to be a Right of the Subject, that this was let fall: But ſince no perſon appeared, to juſtify the Facts ſet forth and ſuggeſted in thoſe Petitions, they were voted falſe and ſcandalous, and this ſtopt a further progreſs in that method. The heat with which that Act had been carried was now much qualified, and the Truſtees having judged for ſo many Claims in favour of Iriſh Papiſts, ſhewing too manifeſt a partiality for them, and having now ſate two years, in which they had conſumed all the Rents that aroſe out of the confiſcated Eſtates, the Houſe was applied to for their inter-

1701. interpoſition, by many Petitions relating to that matter. This was the more neceſſary, becauſe, as was formerly told, when that Act was depending, they had paſt a Vote againſt receiving any Petition, relating to it: The thing had now loſt much of the credit and value that was ſet upon it at firſt; and tho' the ſame Party ſtill oppoſed the receiving any Petitions, yet the current was now ſo ſtrong the other way, that they were all received, and in a great many caſes juſtice was done; yet with a manifeſt partiality, in favour of Papiſts; it being a maxim, among all who favoured King James's Intereſts, to ſerve Papiſts, eſpecially thoſe whoſe Eſtates were confiſcated for adhering to him. One motion was carried, not without difficulty, in favour of thoſe, who had purchaſed under the Grantees, and had made great improvements, that they ſhould be admitted to purchaſe, with an abatement of two years value of the Eſtates: The Earl of Athlone, whoſe caſe was ſingular, as was formerly ſet out, having ſold his Grant to men, who had reaſon to think they had purchaſed under a ſecure Title, a ſpecial Clauſe was offered in their favour; but the Party had ſtudied ſo far to inflame the Nation againſt the Dutch, that in this the Votes were equal, and the Speaker's Vote being to turn the matter, he gave it againſt the Purchaſers. Many Bills were brought in relating to Iriſh Forfeitures, which took up the greateſt part of the Seſſion.

The Commons, after a long delay, ſent up the Bill, abjuring the Prince of Wales. In the Houſe of Lords, the Tories oppoſed it all they poſſibly could: It was a new Bill, ſo the Debate was entirely open: They firſt moved it for a Clauſe, excuſing the Peers from it: If this had been received, the Bill would have been certainly loſt, for the Commons would never have yielded to it: When this was rejected, they tried to have brought it back to be Voluntary: It was a ſtrange piece

of inconſiſtence in men, to move this, who had argued even againſt the lawfulneſs of a voluntary Oath; but it was viſible they intended by it, only to loſe or at leaſt to delay the Bill: When this was over-ruled by the Houſe, not without a mixture of indignation in ſome againſt the movers, they next offered all thoſe Clauſes, that had been rejected in the Houſe of Commons, with ſome other very ſtrange additions, by which they diſcovered both great weakneſs, and an inveterate rancour againſt the Government; but all the oppoſition ended in a Proteſtation of nineteen or twenty Peers againſt the Bill. 1701.

And now I am arrived at the fatal period of this Reign. The King ſeemed all this Winter in a very fair way of recovery: He had made the Royal Apartments in Hampton-Court very noble, and he was ſo much pleaſed with the Place, that he went thither once a week, and rode often about the Park: In the end of February, the Horſe he rode on ſtumbled, and he, being then very feeble, fell off and broke his Collar-bone: He ſeemed to have no other hurt by it, and his ſtrength was then ſo much impaired, that it was not thought neceſſary to let him Blood, no Symptom appearing that required it: The Bone was well ſet, and it was thought there was no danger; ſo he was brought to Kenſington that night: He himſelf had apprehended all this Winter, that he was ſinking; he ſaid to the Earl of Portland, both before and after this accident, that he was a dead man: It was not in his Legs, nor now in his Collar-bone, that he felt himſelf ill, but all was decayed within, ſo that he believed he ſhould not be able to go thro' the fatigue of another Campaign. During his illneſs, he ſent a Meſſage to the Two Houſes, recommending the Union of both Kingdoms to them. The occaſion of this was, a Motion that the Earl of Nottingham had made, in 1702.

The King's illneſs and fall from his Horſe.

1702. the Houſe of Lords, when the Act of Abjuration was agreed to: He ſaid, tho' he had differed from the Majority of the Houſe, in many particulars relating to it, yet he was ſuch a friend to the deſign of the Act, that in order to the ſecuring a Proteſtant Succeſſion, he thought an Union of the whole Iſland was very neceſſary; and that therefore, they ſhould conſider how both Kingdoms might be united; but in order to this, and previous to it, he moved, that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the King, that he would be pleaſed to diſſolve the Parliament now ſitting in Scotland, and to call a new one: Since the preſent Parliament was at firſt a Convention, and then turned to a Parliament, and was continued ever ſince, ſo that the Legality of it might be called in queſtion; and it was neceſſary, that ſo important a thing, as the Union of both Kingdoms, ſhould be treated in a Parliament, againſt the Conſtitution of which no exception could lie. The Motion was warmly oppoſed; for that Nation was then in ſuch a ferment, that the calling a new Parliament would have been probably attended with bad conſequences: So that Project was let fall, and no progreſs was made upon the King's Meſſage. On the third of March, the King had a ſhort fit of an Ague, which he regarded ſo little, that he ſaid nothing of it: It returned on him next day: I happened to be then near him, and obſerved ſuch a viſible alteration, as gave me a very ill opinion of his condition: After that, he kept his Chamber till Friday. Every day it was given out that his Fits abated: On Friday, things had ſo melancholy a face, that his being dangerouſly ill was no longer concealed: There was now ſuch a difficulty of breathing, and his pulſe was ſo ſunk, that the alarm was given out every where: He had ſent the Earl of Albemarle over to Holland, to put things in a readineſs for an early Campaign. He came back on the 7th of March in the morning,

with

with ſo good an account of every thing, that, if matters of that kind could have wrought on the King, it muſt have revived him; but the coldneſs with which he received it, ſhewed how little hopes were left: Soon after, he ſaid "Je tire vers ma fin, (I draw towards my end.") The Act of Abjuration, and the Money Bill, were now prepared for the Royal Aſſent: The Council ordered all things to be in a readineſs, for the paſſing of thoſe Bills by a ſpecial Commiſſion, which according to form muſt be ſigned by the King, in the preſence of the Lord Keeper and the Clerks of the Parliament: They came to the King, when his Fit began, and ſtayed ſome hours before they were admitted: Some in the Houſe of Commons moved for an Adjournment, tho' the Lords had ſent to them not to adjourn for ſome time: By this means, they hoped the Bill of Abjuration ſhould be loſt: But it was contrary to all rules to adjourn, when ſuch a Meſſage was ſent them by the Lords, ſo they waited till the King had ſigned the Commiſſion and the Bills, and thus thoſe Acts paſs'd in the laſt day of the King's Life. 1702.

The King's ſtrength and pulſe was ſtill ſinking, as the difficulty of breathing encreaſed, ſo that no hope was left. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury and I went to him on Saturday morning, and did not ſtir from him till he died. The Archbiſhop prayed on Saturday ſome time with him, but he was then ſo weak, that he could ſcarce ſpeak, but gave him his hand, as a ſign that he firmly believed the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and ſaid, he intended to receive the Sacrament: His reaſon and all his ſenſes were entire to the laſt minute: About five in the morning he deſired the Sacrament, and went thro' the Office with great appearance of ſerioufneſs, but could not expreſs himſelf: When this was done, he called for the Earl of Albemarle, and gave him a charge to take care of his Papers. He thanked Mr. Au- And Death.

1702. verquerque for his long and faithful ſervices. He took leave of the Duke of Ormond, and called for the Earl of Portland, but before he came, his Voice quite failed, ſo he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderneſs. He was often looking up to Heaven, in many ſhort Ejaculations. Between ſeven and eight a Clock the rattle began, the Commendatory Prayer was ſaid for him, and as it ended, he died, in the fifty ſecond year of his Age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days. When his Body was opened, it appeared that, notwithſtanding the ſwelling of his Legs, he had no Dropſy: His Head and Heart was ſound: There was ſcarce any Blood in his Body: His Lungs ſtuck to his Side, and by the fall from his Horſe, a part of them was torn from it, which occaſioned an Inflammation, that was believed to be the immediate cauſe of his Death, which probably might have been prevented for ſome time, if he had been then let blood. His Death would have been a great ſtroke at any time, but in our circumſtances, as they ſtood at that time, it was a dreadful one. The Earl of Portland told me, that when he was once encouraging him, from the good ſtate his affairs were in, both at home and abroad, to take more heart; the King anſwered him, that he knew Death was that, which he had looked at on all occaſions without any terror; ſometimes he would have been glad to have been delivered out of all his troubles, but he confeſſed now he ſaw another Scene, and could wiſh to live a little longer. He died with a clear and full preſence of mind, and in a wonderful tranquillity: Thoſe who knew it was his Rule all his Life long, to hide the impreſſions that Religion made on him, as much as poſſible, did not wonder at his ſilence in his laſt minutes, but they lamented it much: They knew what a handle it would give to cenſure and obloquy.

Thus

Thus lived and died William the Third, King of Great-Britain, and Prince of Orange. He had a thin and weak Body, was brown haired, and of a clear and delicate Conſtitution: He had a Roman Eagle Noſe, bright and ſparkling Eyes, a large front, and a Countenance compoſed to gravity and authority: All his Senſes were critical and exquiſite. He was always aſthmatical, and the dregs of the Small Pox falling on his Lungs, he had a conſtant deep Cough. His Behaviour was ſolemn and ſerious, ſeldom cheerful, and but with a few: He ſpoke little and very ſlowly, and moſt commonly with a diſguſting dryneſs, which was his Character at all times, except in a day of Battle; for then he was all fire, tho' without paſſion: He was then every where, and looked to every thing. He had no great advantage from his Education; De Wit's Diſcourſes were of great uſe to him, and he, being apprehenſive of the obſervation of thoſe, who were looking narrowly into every thing he ſaid or did, had brought himſelf under a habitual caution, that he could never ſhake off, tho' in another ſcene it proved as hurtful, as it was then neceſſary to his affairs: He ſpoke Dutch, French, Engliſh and German equally well; and he underſtood the Latin, Spaniſh and Italian, ſo that he was well fitted to command Armies compoſed of ſeveral Nations. He had a Memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him: He was an exact obſerver of men and things: His ſtrength lay rather in a true diſcerning and a ſound judgment, than in imagination or invention: His deſigns were always great and good: But it was thought he truſted too much to that, and that he did not deſcend enough to the humours of his people, to make himſelf and his notions more acceptable to them: This, in a Government that has ſo much of freedom in it as ours, was more neceſſary than he was inclined to believe: His reſervedneſs grew on him,

1702. His Character.

1702. so that it disgusted most of those who served him; but he had observed the errors of too much talking, more than those of too cold a silence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions censured; but he loved to imploy and favour those, who had the arts of complacence, yet he did not love Flatterers: His genius lay chiefly to War, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct: Great errors were often committed by him, but his heroical courage set things right, as it inflamed those who were about him: He was too lavish of money on some occasions, both in his Buildings and to his Favourites, but too sparing in rewarding Services, or in encouraging those who brought Intelligence: He was apt to take ill impressions of people, and these stuck long with him; but he never carried them to indecent revenges: He gave too much way to his own humour, almost in every thing, not excepting that which related to his own health: He knew all Foreign Affairs well, and understood the State of every Court in Europe very particularly: He instructed his own Ministers himself, but he did not apply enough to Affairs at home: He tried how he could govern us, by ballancing the two Parties one against another, but he came at last to be perswaded, that the Tories were irreconcilable to him, and he was resolved to try and trust them no more. He believed the Truth of the Christian Religion very firmly, and he expressed a horror at Atheism and Blasphemy; and tho' there was much of both in his Court, yet it was always denied to him, and kept out of his sight. He was most exemplarily decent and devout in the publick exercises of the Worship of God, only on week days he came too seldom to them: He was an attentive hearer of Sermons, and was constant in his private Prayers, and in reading the Scriptures: And when he spoke of religious matters, which he did not often, it was with a b

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coming gravity: He was much poſſeſſed with the belief of abſolute Decrees: He ſaid to me, he adhered to theſe, becauſe he did not ſee how the Belief of Providence could be maintained upon any other Suppoſition: His indifference as to the Forms of Church Government, and his being zealous for Toleration, together with his cold Behaviour towards the Clergy, gave them generally very ill impreſſions of him: In his deportment towards all about him, he ſeemed to make little diſtinction between the good and the bad, and thoſe who ſerved well, or thoſe who ſerved him ill: He loved the Dutch, and was much beloved among them; but the ill returns he met from the Engliſh Nation, their jealouſies of him, and their perverſeneſs towards him, had too much ſoured his Mind, and had in a great meaſure alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, tho' he ſaw the ill effects this had upon his buſineſs. He grew, in his laſt years, too remiſs and careleſs as to all Affairs; till the Treacheries of France awakened him, and the dreadful conjunction of the Monarchies gave ſo loud an Alarm to all Europe. For a watching over that Court, and a beſtirring himſelf againſt their practices, was the prevailing paſſion of his whole Life: Few men had the art of concealing and governing Paſſion more than he had; yet few men had ſtronger Paſſions, which were ſeldom felt but by inferior Servants, to whom he uſually made ſuch recompences, for any ſudden or indecent vents he might give his anger, that they were glad at every time, that it broke upon them: He was too eaſy to the faults of thoſe about him, when they did not lie in his own way, or croſs any of his deſigns; and he was ſo apt to think, that his Miniſters might grow inſolent, if they ſhould find that they had much credit with him, that he ſeemed to have made it a Maxim, to let them often feel how little power they had, even 1702.

1702. in ſmall matters: His Favourites had a more intire power, but he accuſtomed them only to inform him of things, but to be ſparing in offering Advice, except when it was aſked: It was not eaſy to account for the reaſons of the favour that he ſhewed, in the higheſt inſtances, to two perſons beyond all others, the Earls of Portland and Albemarle; they being in all reſpects men, not only of different, but of oppoſite Characters: Secrecy and Fidelity were the only qualities, in which it could be ſaid, that they did in any ſort agree. I have now run thro' the chief branches of his Character; I had occaſion to know him well, having obſerved him very carefully in a courſe of Sixteen years: I had a large meaſure of his favour, and a free acceſs to him all the while, tho' not at all times to the ſame degree: The freedom, that I uſed with him, was not always acceptable; but he ſaw that I ſerved him faithfully, ſo, after ſome intervals of coldneſs, he always returned to a good meaſure of confidence in me: I was, in many great inſtances, much obliged by him; but that was not my chief biaſs towards him: I conſidered him, as a Perſon raiſed up by God to reſiſt the Power of France, and the progreſs of Tyranny and Perſecution: The Series of the five Princes of Orange, that was now ended in him, was the nobleſt Succeſſion of Heroes that we find in any Hiſtory: And the thirty years, from the year 1672 to his Death, in which he acted ſo great a part, carry in them ſo many amazing ſteps of a glorious and diſtinguiſhing Providence, that in the words of David, he may be called, "The man of God's right hand, whom he made ſtrong for himſelf:" After all the abatements, that may be allowed for his Errors and Faults, he ought ſtill to be reckoned among the greateſt Princes that our Hiſtory, or indeed that any other, can afford. He died in a critical time for his own Glory; ſince he had formed

formed a great Alliance, and had projected the whole Scheme of the War; so that if it succeeds, a great part of the Honour of it will be ascribed to him; and if otherwise, it will be said He was the Soul of the Alliance, that did both animate and knit it together, and that it was natural for that Body to die and fall asunder, when he who gave it life, was withdrawn. Upon his Death, some moved for a magnificent Funeral; but it seemed not decent to run into unnecessary Expence, when we were entring on a War, that must be maintained at a vast charge; so a private Funeral was resolved on. But for the Honour of his Memory, a noble Monument and an Equestrian Statue were ordered. Some years must shew whether these things were really intended, or if they were only spoke of to excuse the Privacy of his Funeral, which was scarce decent, so far was it from being Magnificent. 1702.

THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK VII.

Of the Life and Reign of Queen ANNE.

1702. Queen Anne ſucceeds.

BY the Death of King William, purſuant to the Act that had ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown, it devolved on Anne, the youngeſt Daughter of King James, by his firſt Marriage: She was then entered on the Thirty eighth year of her Age. Upon the King's Death, the Privy Council came in a body, to wait on the new Queen: She received them with a well conſidered Speech: She expreſſed great Reſpect to the Memory of the late King, in whoſe ſteps ſhe intended to go, for preſerving both Church and State, in oppoſition to the growing Power of France, and for maintaining the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line: She pronounced this, as ſhe did all her other Speeches, with great weight and authority, and with a ſoftneſs of Voice and ſweetneſs in the pronunciation, that added much life to all ſhe

Her Firſt Speech.

ſpoke. Theſe her firſt Expreſſions were heard with great and juſt acknowledgments: Both Houſes of Parliament met that day, and made Addreſſes to her, full of reſpect and duty: She anſwered both very favourably, and ſhe received all that came to her in ſo gracious a manner, that they went from her highly ſatisfied with her goodneſs, and her obliging deportment; for ſhe hearkened with attention to every thing that was ſaid to her. Two days after, ſhe went to the Parliament, which, to the great happineſs of the Nation, and to the advantage of her Government, was now continued to ſit, notwithſtanding the King's Demiſe, by the Act, that was made five years before, upon the diſcovery of the Aſſaſſination Plot. In her Speech ſhe repeated, but more copiouſly, what ſhe had ſaid to the Council, upon her firſt Acceſſion to the Throne. There were two paſſages in this Speech, that were thought not ſo well conſidered: She aſſured them, her Heart was "entirely Engliſh:" This was looked on, as a reflection on the late King: She alſo added, that they might "depend on her "word." Both theſe Expreſſions had been in her Father's firſt Speech, how little ſoever they were afterwards minded by him. The City of London, and all the Counties, Cities, and even the ſubaltern Bodies of Cities, came up with Addreſſes: In theſe, a very great diverſity of Stile was obſerved; ſome mentioned the late King in terms full of reſpect and gratitude; others named him very coldly; ſome took no notice of him, nor of his death, and ſimply congratulated her coming to the Crown; and ſome inſinuated reflections on his Memory, as if the Queen had been ill uſed by him. The Queen received all civilly, to moſt ſhe ſaid nothing, to others ſhe expreſſed herſelf in general words, and ſome things were given out in her Name which ſhe diſowned. 1702.

She purſues the Alliance and the War.

Within a week after her coming to the Crown, ſhe ſent the Earl of Marlborough to Holland, to give

1702. give the States full assurances of her maintaining the Alliances, that had been concluded by the late King, and of doing every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. She gave notice also of her coming to the Crown to all the Princes and States of Europe, except France and Spain. The Earl of Marlborough stay'd some days in Holland, to very good purpose: The King's Death had struck them all with such a damp, that they needed the encouragement of such a Message, as he brought them: When they had the first news of the King's Death, they assembled together immediately; they looked on one another as men amazed: They embraced one another, and promised they would stick together, and adhere to the interests of their Country: They sat up most of the night, and sent out all the Orders that were necessary, upon so extraordinary an emergency. They were now much revived by the Earl of Marlborough's presence, and by the temper that both Houses of Parliament were in, with relation to the Alliances, and the War with France; and they entered into such Confidence with the Earl of Marlborough, that he came back as well satisfied with them, as they were with him. The Queen in her first Speech, had asked of the Commons the continuance of that Revenue, which supported the Civil List, and it was granted to her for Life, very unanimously, tho' many seemed to apprehend, that so great a Revenue might be applied to uses, not so profitable to the Publick, in a Reign that was like to be frugal, and probably would not be subject to great accidents. When the Queen came to pass the Act, and to thank the Parliament for it; she said, she intended to apply one hundred thousand pounds of it, to the publick occasions of the present year: This was received with great applause, and particular notice was taken of it, in all the Addresses that came up afterwards.

At the ſame time, the Queen paſſed a Bill for receiving and examining the publick Accounts; and in her Speech, ſhe expreſſed a particular approbation of that Bill. A Commiſſion to the ſame effect had been kept up, for ſix or ſeven years, during the former Reign, but it had been let fall for ſome years; ſince the Commiſſioners had never been able to make any diſcovery whatſoever, and ſo had put the Publick to a conſiderable charge, without reaping any ſort of fruit from it. Whether this flowed from the weakneſs or corruption of the Commiſſioners, or from the integrity or cunning of thoſe, who dealt in the Publick Money, cannot be determined. The Party that had oppoſed the late King, had made this the chief ſubject of their Complaints all the Nation over, that the Publick was robbed, and that private men lived high, and yet raiſed large Eſtates out of the Publick Treaſure. This had a great effect over England; for all People naturally hearken to Complaints of this kind, and very eaſily believe them: It was alſo ſaid, to excuſe the fruitleſſneſs of the former Commiſſions, that no diſcoveries could be made, under a Miniſtry, that would ſurely favour their under-workmen, tho' they were known to be Guilty. One viſible cauſe of mens raiſing great Eſtates, who were concerned in the Adminiſtration, was this, that for ſome years the Parliament laid the Taxes upon very remote Funds, ſo that, beſides the diſtance of the term of Payment, for which Intereſt was allowed, the danger the Government itſelf ſeemed to be often in (upon the continuance of which the continuance and aſſignment of theſe Funds was grounded) made that ſome Tallies were ſold at a great diſcount, even of the one half, to thoſe who would employ their Money that way, by which great advantages were made. The gain that was made, by robbing the Coin, in which many Goldſmiths were believed to be deeply concerned, contributed not a little to the raiſing

1702.

A Bill for the Publick Accounts.

1702. raiſing thoſe vaſt Eſtates, to which ſome had grown, as ſuddenly as unaccountably. All theſe complaints were eaſily raiſed, and long kept up, on deſign to caſt the heavier load on the former Miniſtry: This made that Miniſtry, who were ſenſible of the miſchief this clamour did them, and of their own innocence, promote the Bill with much zeal, and put the ſtrongeſt Clauſes in it, that could be contrived to make it effectual. The Commiſſioners named in the Bill, were the hotteſt men in the Houſe, who had raiſed as well as kept up the clamour, with the greateſt earneſtneſs. One Clauſe put in the Act, was not very acceptable to the Commiſſioners; for they were rendered incapable of all Imployments, during the Commiſſion: The Act carried a Retroſpect quite back to the Revolution: It was given out, that great diſcoveries would be made by them, and the art and induſtry with which this was ſpread over England, had a great effect in the Elections to the ſucceeding Parliament. The Coronation was on the 23d of April, on St. George's day; it was performed with the uſual Magnificence: The Archbiſhop of York preached a good and wiſe Sermon on the occaſion: The Queen immediately after that, gave Orders for naming the Electoreſs of Brunſwick, in the Collect for the Royal Family, as the next Heir of the Crown; and ſhe formed a Miniſtry.

A Miniſtry formed.

The coldneſs had continued between the King and her, to ſuch a degree, that tho' there was a reconciliation after the Queen's Death, yet it went not much farther, than what civility and decency required: She was not made acquainted with publick Affairs: She was not encouraged to recommend any to Poſts of truſt and advantage: Nor had the Miniſtry Orders to inform her how matters went, nor to oblige thoſe about her: Only pains had been taken to pleaſe the Earl of Marlborough, with which he was fully ſatisfied: nothing had contented

him

him better, than the Command he had the former year of the Troops, which were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the States. The Whigs had lived at a great diſtance with the Queen, all the former Reign: The Tories had made much noiſe with their zeal for her, chiefly after the death of the Duke of Gloceſter, tho' they came ſeldom to her: Her Court was then very thin, ſhe lived in a due abſtraction from buſineſs; ſo that ſhe neither gave jealouſy, nor encouraged faction: Yet theſe things had made thoſe impreſſions on her, that had at firſt ill effects, which were ſoon obſerved and remedied. The late King had ſent a Meſſage to the Earl of Rocheſter, ſome weeks before he died, letting him know, that he had put an end to his Commiſſion of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but that was not executed in form; ſo the Commiſſion did ſtill ſubſiſt in his perſon: He was upon that now declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Lord Godolphin was made Lord Treaſurer: This was very uneaſy to himſelf, for he reſiſted the motion long; but the Earl of Marlborough preſſed it in ſo poſitive a manner, that he ſaid he could not go beyond Sea to command our Armies, unleſs the Treaſury was put in his hands; for then he was ſure that remittances would be punctually made him: He was declared Captain General, and the Prince had the Title of Generaliſſimo of all the Queen's Forces by Sea and Land. It was for ſome time given out, that the Prince intended to go beyond Sea, to command the Armies of the Alliance, but this report ſoon fell; and it was ſaid, the Dutch were not willing to truſt their Armies to the command of a Prince, who might think it below him to be limited by their Inſtructions, or to be bound to obey their Orders. The late King had diſſolved the Commiſſion, for executing the Office of the Lord Admiral, and had committed that great Truſt to the Earl of Pembroke: The Secrets of that Board were ſo ill kept, and there was ſuch a

1702.

Faction

1702. Faction in it, that the King reſolved to put it in a ſingle perſon: The Earl of Pembroke was not eaſily brought to ſubmit to it: He ſaw it would draw a heavy load on him, and he was ſenſible that by his ignorance of Sea Affairs, he might commit errors; yet he took good Officers to his aſſiſtance: He reſolved to command the Fleet in perſon, and he took great pains to put things in ſuch Order, that it might be ſoon ready. A Land Army was deſigned to go with the Fleet, to the Command of which the Duke of Ormond had been named: But upon new meaſures, the Earl of Pembroke was firſt ſent to, not to go to Sea in perſon, and ſoon after he was diſmiſſed from his Poſt, with the offer of a great Penſion, which he very generouſly refuſed, tho' the ſtate of his Affairs and Family ſeemed to require it. The Prince was made Lord High Admiral, which he was to govern by a Council; the Legality of this was much queſtioned, for it was a new Court, which could not be authorized to act, but by an Act of Parliament: yet the reſpect paid the Queen made that no publick queſtion was made of this, ſo that objections to it never went beyond a ſecret murmur. The Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were made Secretaries of State: The Tories would truſt none but the Earl of Nottingham, and he would ſerve with none but Hedges: The Maxim laid down at Court, was, to put the direction of Affairs in the hands of the Tories. The Earl of Marlborough aſſured me this was done, upon the promiſes they made to carry on the War, and to maintain the Alliances; if they kept theſe, then Affairs would go on ſmoothly in the Houſe of Commons, but if they failed in this, the Queen would put her buſineſs in other hands, which at that time few could believe. The Marquis of Normanby was, to the admiration of all men, made Lord Privy Seal, and ſoon after Duke of Buckingham: The Earl of Abington, Viſcount Weymouth,

Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, Seimour, Muſgrave, Greenvil, How, Luçon Gower, Harcourt, with ſeveral others, who had, during the laſt Reign, expreſſed the moſt violent and unrelenting averſion to the whole Adminiſtration, were now brought to the Council Board, and put in good Poſts. 1702.

Few refuſed the Abjuration.

Before the King's death, it was generally thought, that ſome in both Houſes, and many more over the Nation, would refuſe the Abjuration: They had oppoſed it ſo vehemently, that no leſs could be expected from them. Some went out of Town when the day came, in which the Houſes reſolved to try all their Members; but they ſoon came to other Reſolutions, and with them almoſt the whole Party came and took the Oath, and profeſſed great zeal for the Queen, and an entire ſatisfaction in her Title. Some ſuſpected this was Treachery, on deſign to get the Government once into their hands, that ſo they might deliver it up, or at leaſt that they might carry a Parliament ſo to their mind, that the Act might be repealed; and they might think, that then the Oath would fall with it. Diſtinctions were ſet about among them, which heightened theſe ſuſpicions: for tho' in the Oath, they declared, that the pretended Prince of Wales had not any Right whatſoever to the Crown, yet in a Paper (which I ſaw) that went about among them, it was ſaid that "Right" was a term of Law, which had only relation to "Legal Rights," but not to a "Divine Right," or to "Birth "Right:" So ſince that Right was condemned by Law, they, by abjuring it, did not renounce the "Divine Right," that he had by his Birth. They alſo ſuppoſed, that this Abjuration could only bind, during the preſent ſtate of things, but not in caſe of another Revolution, or of a Conqueſt: This was too dark a thing to be enquired after, or ſeen into, in the ſtate matters were then in. The Queen continued moſt of the great

1702. Officers of the Houſhold, all the Judges except two, and moſt of the Lords Lieutenants of Counties; nor did ſhe make any change in the Foreign Miniſtry. It was generally believed, that the Earl of Rocheſter and his Party were for ſevere methods, and for a more entire change, to be carried quite thro' all ſubaltern Imployments; but that the Lord Godolphin and the Earl of Marlborough were for moderate proceedings: So that tho' no Whigs were put into Employments, yet many were kept in the Poſts they had been put into, during the former Reign. Repeated aſſurances were ſent to all the Allies, that the Queen would adhere firmly to them.

The Union of both Kingdoms propoſed.

The Queen in her firſt Speech to her Parliament, had renewed the Motion, made by the late King, for the Union of both Kingdoms: Many of thoſe, who ſeemed now to have the greateſt ſhare of her favour and confidence, oppoſed it with much heat, and not without indecent reflexions on the Scotch Nation; yet it was carried by a great Majority, that the Queen ſhould be empowered to name Commiſſioners, for treating of an Union: It was ſo viſibly the Intereſt of England, and of the preſent Government, to ſhut that back door againſt the practices of France, and the attempts of the pretended Prince of Wales, that the oppoſition made to this firſt ſtep towards an Union, and the indecent ſcorn with which Seimour and others treated the Scots, were clear indications that the Poſts they were brought into, had not changed their tempers; but that inſtead of healing matters, they intended to irritate them farther, by their reproachful Speeches. The Bill went thro' both Houſes, notwithſtanding the rough treatment it met with at firſt.

The War with France proclaimed.

Upon the Earl of Marlborough's return from Holland, and in purſuance of the concert at the Hague, the Queen communicated to both Houſes her deſign to proclaim War with France: They approving

approving of it, War was proclaimed on the fourth day of May: The Houſe of Commons made an Addreſs to thank the Queen, for ordering the Princeſs Sophia to be prayed for: And as the Right, that recommended her, was in her own Blood, ſhe was deſigned by her Chriſtian Name, and not by her Title: It came to be known that this was oppoſed in Council by the Marquis of Normanby, but that it was promoted by the Lord Treaſurer. 1702.

A Report was ſpread about Town, and over the Nation, with ſuch a ſeeming aſſurance, that many were inclined to believe it, that a Scheme had been found among the King's Papers, for ſetting aſide the Queen: Some added, for impriſoning her, and for bringing the Houſe of Hanover immediately into the Succeſſion; and that, to ſupport this, a great change was to be made in all the Imployments and Offices over the whole Kingdom: This, many of thoſe, who were now in Poſts, had talked of in ſo publick a manner, that it appeared they intended to poſſeſs the whole Nation with a belief of it; hoping thereby to alienate the people from thoſe, who had been in the late King's confidence, and diſgrace all that ſide, in order to the carrying all Elections of Parliament for Men of their Party. Five Lords had been ordered by the Queen to viſit the late King's Papers, and bring her ſuch of them, as related to the Alliances or other Affairs of the Crown: Theſe were the Dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, and the Earls of Marlborough, Jerſey, and Albemarle: The Whigs ſaw the deſign which was driven at, by thoſe falſe reports; ſo a Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, by the Earl of Carliſle, and ſeconded by the Lords Wharton, Halifax, and others, that an enquiry ſhould be made into the truth of that Report, and of all other Stories of that kind, that ſo, if there was any truth in them, ſuch as had been concerned in thoſe wicked de-

A falſe report of deſigns againſt the Queen.

1702. ſigns might be puniſhed; and if they were found to be falſe, that thoſe who ſpread them about, might be chaſtiſed. Upon this, the Houſe deſired that thoſe Lords, who had viſited the late King's Papers, would let them know, if they had met with any among them, relating to the Queen's Succeſſion, or to the Succeſſion of the Houſe of Hanover. Four of them were then in the Houſe, only the Earl of Marlborough was ill that day, ſo the four who were preſent ſaid, they had found nothing, that did in any ſort relate to that matter, and this was confirmed by the Earl of Marlborough to ſome Peers, who were ſent by the Houſe, to aſk him the ſame queſtion. Upon which a Vote paſt, that theſe Reports were falſe and ſcandalous; and an Order was made for proſecuting the ſpreaders of them. Some Books had been publiſhed, charging the late Miniſtry, and the whole Whig Party with the like deſigns: Theſe Books were cenſured, and the Authors of them were ordered to be proſecuted; tho' both the Marquis of Normanby and the Earl of Nottingham, did all they could to excuſe thoſe Writers. When the falſhood of thoſe Calumnies was apparent, then it was given out, with an unuſual confidence, that no ſuch Reports had been ever ſet about; tho' the contrary was evident, and the thing was boldly aſſerted in thoſe Books: So that a peculiar meaſure of aſſurance was neceſſary, to face down a thing, which they had taken ſuch pains to infuſe into the minds of the credulous Vulgar, all England over. The Earl of Nottingham, to divert this Enquiry, moved, that another might be made into thoſe Books, in which the Murder of King Charles the Firſt was juſtified; tho' the provocation given to ſome of theſe, was, by a Sermon preached by Dr. Binks before the Convocation, on the 30th of January, in which he drew a Parallel between King Charles's Sufferings and thoſe of our Saviour: and, in ſome very indecent Expreſſions, gave the preference

ference to the former. When the buſineſs of the Seſſion of Parliament was all done, the Queen diſmiſſed them, with thanks for the money they had given, recommending earneſtly to them a good agreement among themſelves, aſſuring them, that as on the one hand ſhe would maintain the Toleration, ſo on the other hand, her own principles would oblige her to have a particular regard to thoſe, who expreſſed the trueſt zeal for the Church of England: Thus the Seſſion ended, and the Proclamation diſſolving the Parliament, with the Writs for a new one, came out not long after. 1702. The Parliament is diſſolved.

During ſome part of this Parliament, a Convocation ſate: The Faction raiſed in the Lower Houſe had ſtill the Majority; ſeveral Books were writ to ſhew, that by our Conſtitution, the power of Adjourning was wholly in the Archbiſhop: The Original Book of the Convocation, that ſate in the year 1661, being happily found, it ſhewed the practice of that Convocation agreed with the Biſhops in every particular: But tho' it was communicated to the Lower Houſe, that had no effect on them; for when Parties are once formed, and a reſolution is taken up on other conſiderations, no Evidence can convince thoſe, who have before hand reſolved to ſtick to their point. But the Prolocutor dying, and the King's Death following, the Convocation was by that diſſolved: ſince in the Act, that empowered the Parliament to ſit after the King's Death, no proviſion was made to continue the Convocation. The Earl of Rocheſter moved in the Houſe of Lords, that it might be conſidered, whether the Convocation was not a part of the Parliament, and whether it was not continued, in conſequence of the Act that continued the Parliament: But that was ſoon let fall, for the Judges were all of Opinion, that it was diſſolved by the King's Death. A Convocation ſate.

Upon the Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown, all theſe angry men, that had raiſed this flame in the

1702. Church, as they treated the Memory of the late King with much indecent contempt, ſo they ſeemed very confident, that for the future, all Preferments ſhould be diſtributed among them (the Queen having ſuperſeded the Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Preferments) and they thought they were full of merit, and were as full of hopes.

Societies for Reformation.

Such an evil Spirit as is now ſpread among the Clergy, would be a ſad ſpeculation at any time, but in our preſent Circumſtances, when we are near ſo great a criſis, it is a dreadful thing: But a little to ballance this, I ſhall give an account of more promiſing beginnings and appearances, which tho' they are of an elder date, yet of late they have been brought into a more regulated form. In King James's Reign, the fear of Popery was ſo ſtrong, as well as juſt, that many, in and about London, began to meet often together, both for Devotion, and for their further Inſtruction: Things of that kind had been formerly practiſed, only among the Puritans and the Diſſenters: But theſe were of the Church, and came to their Miniſters, to be aſſiſted with Forms of Prayer and other directions: They were chiefly conducted by Dr. Beveridge and Dr. Horneck. Some diſliked this, and were afraid it might be the Original of new Factions and Parties; but wiſer and better men thought, it was not fit nor decent to check a ſpirit of Devotion, at ſuch a time: It might have given ſcandal, and it ſeemed a diſcouraging of piety, and might be a mean to drive well-meaning perſons over to the Diſſenters. After the Revolution, theſe Societies grew more numerous, and for a greater encouragement to Devotion, they got ſuch Collections to be made, as maintained many Clergymen to read Prayers in ſo many places, and at ſo many different hours, that devout perſons might have that comfort at every hour of the day: There were conſtant Sacraments every Lord's Day in many Churches: There were both great numbers and greater appearances of Devotion

votion at Prayers and Sacraments, than had been observed in the memory of Man. These Societies resolved, to inform the Magistrates of Swearers, Drunkards, Profaners of the Lord's Day, and of Lewd Houses; and they threw in the part of the Fine, given by Law to Informers, into a stock of Charity: From this, they were called Societies of Reformation: Some good Magistrates encouraged them; but others treated them roughly. As soon as Queen Mary heard of this, she did, by her Letters and Proclamations, encourage these good designs, which were afterwards prosecuted by the late King. Other Societies set themselves to raise Charity Schools, for teaching poor Children, for cloathing them and binding them out to Trades: Many Books were printed, and sent over the Nation by them, to be freely distributed: These were called Societies for propagating Christian Knowledge: By this means some thousands of children are now well educated and carefully looked after. In many places of the Nation, the Clergy met often together, to confer about matters of Religion and Learning; and they got Libraries to be raised for their common use. At last a Corporation was created by the late King, for propagating the Gospel among Infidels, for settling Schools in our Plantations, for furnishing the Clergy that were sent thither, and for sending Missionaries among such of our Plantations, as were not able to provide Pastors for themselves. It was a glorious conclusion of a Reign, that was begun with preserving our Religion, thus to create a Corporation, for propagating it to the remoter parts of the Earth, and among Infidels: There were very liberal Subscriptions made to it, by many of the Bishops and Clergy, who set about it with great care and zeal: Upon the Queen's Accession to the Crown, they had all possible assurances of her favour and protection, of which upon every application, they received very eminent marks. 1702.

1702. Affairs in Scotland.

The Affairs of Scotland began to be ſomewhat embroiled: By an Act made ſoon after the Revolution, it was provided, that all Princes ſucceeding to the Crown, ſhould take the Coronation Oath, before they enter'd upon their Regal Dignity; but no direction was given, concerning thoſe who ſhould tender it, or the manner in which it ſhould be taken: So this being left undetermined, the Queen called together all the late King's Miniſters for that Kingdom, and in the preſence of about twelve of them, ſhe took the Coronation Oath: Men, who were diſpoſed to cenſure every thing, ſaid, that this ought not to be done, but in the preſence of ſome, deputed for that effect, either by the Parliament, or at leaſt by the Privy Council of that Kingdom. Another point occaſioned a more important Debate.

Upon the Aſſaſſination Plot, an Act had paſſed in Scotland for continuing the Parliament, that ſhould be then in being, ſix months after the Death of the King, with two ſpecial Clauſes in it; the firſt was, that it ſhould meet twenty days after the Death of the King: But the Queen did, by ſeveral Prorogations, continue the Parliament almoſt three months after the King's Death, before it was opened. Some ſaid the Parliament was by this diſſolved, ſince it did not meet upon the day limited by the Act to continue it; but there was another Proviſo in the Act, that ſaved to the Crown the full Prerogative of adjourning or diſſolving it within that time; yet in oppoſition to that, it was acknowledged, that as to all ſubſequent days of Meeting, the Prerogative was entire, but the day that was limited, that is the twenty firſt after the King's Death, ſeemed to be fixed for the firſt opening the Seſſion.

The ſecond Clauſe was, a limitation on the Power of the Parliament, during their ſitting, that it ſhould not extend to the repealing Laws; they were empowered only, to maintain the Proteſtant

teſtant Religion, and the publick peace of the Country: It was therefore ſaid, that the Queen was peaceably obeyed, and the Country now in full quiet, ſo there was no need of aſſembling the Parliament: The end of the Law being compaſſed, it was ſaid, the Law fell of it ſelf, and therefore it was neceſſary to call a new Parliament: for the old one, if aſſembled, could have no Authority, but to ſee to the preſervation of Religion, and the peace of the Country, their power being limited to thoſe two heads, by the Act that authorized their ſitting. In oppoſition to this, it was ſaid, that the Act which gave them Authority to ſit as a Parliament for ſix months, gave them the full Authority of a Parliament: the directing them to take care of ſome more important matters, did not hinder their meddling with other matters, ſince no Parliament can limit a ſubſequent one: It was alſo ſaid, that, ſince the Queen was now engaged in a War, the publick Peace could not be ſecured, without ſuch a Force and ſuch Taxes to maintain it, as the preſent ſtate of Affairs required. The Duke of Queensbury, and his Party, were for continuing the Parliament: But Duke Hamilton, and the others, who had oppoſed that Duke in the laſt Parliament, complained highly of this way of proceeding: They ſaid, they could not acknowledge this to be a legal Parliament, they could not ſubmit to it, but muſt proteſt againſt it: This was ominous; a Reign was to be begun with a Parliament liable to a diſpute; and from ſuch a breach, it was eaſy to foreſee a train of miſchief likely to follow. Theſe Lords came up, and repreſented to the Queen and thoſe in favour with her, their exceptions to all that was intended to be done; every thing they ſaid was heard very calmly; but the Queen was a ſtranger to their Laws, and could not take it upon her to judge 1702.

1702. judge of them, ſo ſhe was determined by the Advice of the Privy Council of that Kingdom. The Lords that came up to oppoſe the Duke of Queensbury, continued to preſs for a new Parliament, in which they promiſed to give the Queen all that ſhe could ask of them, and to conſent to an Act of Indemnity, for all that was paſt in the former Reign. But it was thought, that the Nation was then in too great a heat to venture on that; and that ſome more time was neceſſary, to prepare matters, as well as mens minds, before a new Parliament ſhould be ſummoned. Both Parties went down, and both being very ſenſible that the Presbyterian Intereſt would, with its weight, turn that ſcale into which it ſhould fall, great pains were taken by both ſides to gain that Party. On the one hand, they were made to apprehend, what a madneſs it would be for them, to provoke the Queen in the beginning of her Reign, who might be enough diſpoſed to entertain prejudices againſt them: theſe would be much heightened, if in a point, in which Conſcience could not be pretended, they ſhould engage in a Faction againſt her, eſpecially when they could not ſay, that any cauſe of jealouſy was given: on the contrary, the Queen had, in all her publick Letters, promiſed to maintain Presbyterian Government; and tho' that gave great offence, in the late King's time, when thoſe publick Letters were printed, yet now this paſt without cenſure. The other Party was as buſy to inflame them; They told them the Queen was certainly in her heart againſt them: All thoſe who were now in her confidence, the Earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham in particular, were enemies to Presbyterian Government: Good words were now given them, to ſeparate them from a national Intereſt, knowing well, that if they went off from that, and ſo loſt the hearts of the Nation, they loſt that in which their chief ſtrength lay: The Party

that

that now governed, as ſoon as they ſhould have carried the preſent point by their help, and render'd them odious, by their concurring in it, would ſtrengthen themſelves at Court, by entering into the Epiſcopal Intereſt, and trying to introduce Epiſcopacy into Scotland: which would be ſoon brought about, if the Presbyterians ſhould once loſe their popularity: Theſe were the methods and reaſonings that were uſed on both hands. 1702.

A Seſſion of Parliament there.

The Parliament was brought together on the 9th of June; at the opening the Seſſion, Duke Hamilton read a Paper, importing, that this was not a legal Parliament, ſince the only ends for which they were empowered to meet, were already obtained; The Queen was obeyed, Religion was ſecured, and the Peace of the Country was ſettled: ſo there ſeemed to be no occaſion for their continuance. Upon which he and ſeventy four more withdrew; but one hundred and twelve Members continued to ſit, and voted themſelves to be a free and legal Parliament, and declared, that purſuant to their ancient Laws, it was High Treaſon to impugn their Authority. They ratified all Acts made in favour of Presbyterian Government, in which they proceeded with ſuch violence, that Sir Alexander Bruce moving, that all thoſe Acts might be read, for he believed ſome of them might be found inconſiſtent with Monarchy, he was for that expelled the Houſe. They by one Act recognized the Queen's Title; by another, they empowered her to name Commiſſioners to treat of the Union of the Two Kingdoms; and by a third, they gave a Tax ſufficient to keep up the Force, that was then in Scotland, for two years longer: and ſo the Parliament was brought to a quiet concluſion.

Ireland was put under Lords Juſtices, named by the Earl of Rocheſter, and the Truſtees continued ſtill in their former Authority.

While

1702. While our Affairs were in this posture at home, the first step that was made beyond Sea, was by the House of Hanover; it had been concerted with the late King before his sickness, and was set on foot the Week he died. The design was well laid, and the execution was managed with great secrecy: The old Duke of Zell, and his Nephew the Elector of Brunswick, went in person with an Army, that was rather inferior in strength to that of the Dukes of Wolfembuttle; They enter'd their Country, while their Troops were dispersed in their Quarters: They surprized some Regiments of Horse, and came and invested both Wolfembuttle and Brunswick at once, and cut off all Communication between them: Having them at this disadvantage, they required them to concur in the Common Councils of the Empire, to furnish their Quota for its defence, and to keep up no more Troops, than were consistent with the safety of their Neighbours; for it was well known, that the greatest part of their Men were subsisted with French pay, and that they had engaged themselves to declare for France, as soon as it should be required. Duke Rodolph, the elder Brother, was a learned and pious Prince; but as he was never married, so he had turned over the Government to the Care of his Brother Duke Anthony, who was a Prince of a temper very much different from his Brother's: He could not bear the advancement of the House of Hanover; so in opposition to them, he went into the Interests of France: But being thus surprised, he went away in discontent, and his Brother broke thro' all those measures, in which he had involved himself: In conjunction with Duke Anthony, the Duke of Saxe Gotha had enter'd into the same engagements with France; but was now forced to fall into the common Interests of the Empire.

Affairs in Germany.

The War in Poland. Thus all the North of Germany was united, and ready to declare against France; only the War

War in Poland was so near them, that they were obliged to continue armed, and see the issue of that War: The King of Sweden was engaged in it, with such a determined opposition to King Augustus, that there was no hope of treating a Peace, tho' it was endeavoured both by England and the States: The King of Sweden seemed to have accustomed himself to fatigue and danger, so that he grew to love both; and tho' the Muscovites had fallen upon the Frontiers of Sweden, where they had gained some advantages, yet even that could not divert him from carrying on the War in Poland. A Diet was summoned there, but it broke up in confusion, without coming to any conclusion, only they sent Ambassadors to the King of Sweden to treat of a Peace. The King of Prussia was very apprehensive of the consequences of this War, which was now in the neighbourhood of Prussia; and the King of Sweden threaten'd to invade Saxony, with the Troops that he had in Pomerania, which could not be done, but thro' his Territories. The King of Sweden delay'd giving Audience to the Ambassadors of Poland; and marched on to Warsaw; so the King of Poland retired to Cracow, and summoned those Palatines, who adhered to him, to come about him: When the King of Sweden came to Warsaw, he sent to the Cardinal to summon a Diet, for chooſing a new King: This went further than the resentments of the Poles yet carried them: But the rest of this matter will appear hereafter. 1702.

A Treaty with the House of Bavaria.

All Germany was now united, only the two Brothers of Bavaria. The Court of Vienna set on foot several Negotiations with the Elector of Bavaria, but all to no purpose: for that Elector seemed only to hearken to their Propositions, that he might make the better terms with France: The Elector of Cologn put Liege, and all the places that he had on the Rhine, except Bonne, into the hands of the French: It was said, that he kept Bonne,

1702. Bonne, hoping to be able to make his peace with the Emperor, by putting that into his poſſeſſion; but he was prevailed on afterwards to deliver that likewiſe to the French. In this, the Elector acted againſt the advice of all his Council; and as the Dean of Liege was making ſome oppoſition to him, he was ſeized on, and carried away Priſoner in a barbarous manner: The Elector, to excuſe his letting the French into his Country, pretended, he only deſired the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Troops of the Circle of Burgundy, to ſecure his Dominions: For as France was not aſhamed of the ſlighteſt pretences, ſo ſhe taught her Allies to make excuſes unbecoming the Dignity of Princes.

The Siege of Keiſerwert.

The firſt ſtep of this War was to be made in the name of the Elector Palatine, in the Siege of Keiſerwert, which, whilſt in the Enemies hands, expoſed both the Circle of Weſtphalia, and the States Dominions: for their places on the Whall, being in no good condition, were laid open to the excurſions of that Garriſon. Negotiations were ſtill carried on in ſeveral Courts: Methuen was ſent to try the Court of Portugal; he came quickly back, with full aſſurances of a Neutrality, and a freedom of Trade in their Ports; Inſinuations were given of a diſpoſition to go further, upon a better proſpect and better terms; ſo he was preſently ſent back, to drive that matter as far as it would go. The Pope pretended he would keep the Neutrality of a common Father, but his partiality to the French appeared on many occaſions: yet the Court of Vienna had that veneration for the See, that they contented themſelves with expoſtulating, without carrying their reſentments further. The Venetians and the Great Duke followed the example ſet them by the Pope, tho' the former did not eſcape ſo well, for their Country ſuffer'd on both hands.

The Siege of Landaw.

The Prince of Baden drew together the Troops of the Empire; he began with blocking up Landaw,

daw, and that was ſoon turned to a Siege: Catinat was ſent to Command the French Army in Alſace, but it was ſo weak, that he was not able to make head with it. In the end of April, the Dutch formed three Armies; one under the Prince of Naſſaw, undertook the Siege of Keiſerwert; Another was commanded by the Earl of Athlone, and lay in the Dutchy of Cleve, to cover the Siege; A third commanded by Cohorn, broke into Flanders, and put a great part of that country under Contribution. Mareſchal Bouflers drew his Army together, and having laid up great Magazines in Ruremonde and Venlo, he paſſed the Maeſe with his whole Army. The Duke of Burgundy came down poſt from Paris, to Command it: The States apprehended, that ſo great a Prince would, at his firſt appearance, undertake ſomewhat worthy of him, and thought the Deſign might be upon Maeſtricht: ſo they put twelve thouſand Men in Garriſon there: The Auxiliary Troops from Germany did not come ſo ſoon as was expected, and croſs Winds ſtopt a great part of our Army: So that the Earl of Athlone was not ſtrong enough to enter into action with Mareſchal Bouflers: but he lay about Cleve, watching his motions. The Siege of Keiſerwert went on ſlowly: the Rhine ſwelling very high, ſo filled their Trenches, that they could not work in them. Mareſchal Tallard was ſent to lie on the other ſide of the Rhine, to cannonade the Beſiegers, and to ſend freſh Men into the Town: The King of Pruſſia came to Wezel, from whence he furniſhed the Beſiegers with all that was neceſſary. There was one vigorous Attack made, in which many were killed on both ſides: In concluſion, after a brave defence, the Counterſcarp was carried, and then the Town capitulated, and was raiſed according to agreement. When the Duke of Burgundy ſaw, that the Siege could not be raiſed, he tried to get between the Earl of Athlone and Nimeguen: The Deſign

1702.

Keiſerwert taken.

1702. Design was well laid, and wanted little of being punctually executed: It must have had fatal effects, had it succeeded: for the French would either have got into Nimeguen, or have forced the Earl of Athlone to fight at a great disadvantage. But the Earl of Athlone so carefully watched their motions, that he got before them, under the Cannon of Nimeguen; yet by this means, he was forced to abandon Cleve. The French discharged their fury upon that Town, and on the Park, and all the delicious Walks of that charming place, little to the Honour of the Prince who commanded the Army: for upon such occasions, Princes are apt to be civil to one another, and not to make havock of such embellishments as can be of no use to them. The Earl of Athlone's conduct on this occasion, raised his credit, as much as it sunk Boufflers, who, tho' he had the superior Army, animated by the presence of so great a Prince, yet was able to do nothing; but was unsuccessful in every thing that he designed; and his Parties, that at any time were engaged with those of the Earl of Athlone, were beaten almost in every Action.

The Earl of Marlborough commands the Army.

Soon after this, the Earl of Marlborough came over, and took the Command of the Army. The Earl of Athlone was set on, by the other Dutch Generals, to insist on his Quality of Velt Marshal, and to demand the Command by turns: He was now in high reputation by his late Conduct, but the States obliged him to yield this to the Earl of Marlborough, who indeed used him so well, that the Command seemed to be equal between them. The Earl of Athlone was always inclined to cautious and sure, but feeble Counsels: But the Earl of Marlborough, when the Army was brought together, finding his Force superior to the Duke of Burgundy, passed the Maese at the Grave, and marched up to the French; they retired as he advanced: this made him for ventur-

ing on a deciſive Action, but the Dutch appre- 1702.
hended the putting things to ſuch a hazard, and would not conſent to it. The Penſioner, and thoſe who ordered matters at the Hague, proceeded the more timorouſly, becauſe, upon the King's Death, thoſe who had always oppoſed him, were beginning to form Parties, in ſeveral of their Towns, and were deſigning a change of Government: So that a publick misfortune in their conduct, would have given great advantages to thoſe who were watching for them. The Penſioner was particularly aimed at: this made him more unwilling to run any riſque. Good judges thought, that if the Earl of Marlborough's Advices had been followed, matters might have been brought to a happy deciſion: But as he conducted the Army prudently, ſo he was careful not to take too much upon him. The Duke of Burgundy finding himſelf obliged to retreat, as the Confederate Army advanced, thought this was not ſuitable to his dignity; So he left the Army, and ended his firſt Campaign very inglorioufly; and it ſeems, the King was not ſatisfied with Mareſchal Bouflers, for he never commanded their Armies ſince that time. The Earl of Marlborough went on, taking ſeveral places, which made little or no reſiſtance; and ſeeing that Mareſchal Bouflers kept at a ſafe diſtance, ſo that there was no hope of an engagement with him, he reſolved to fall into the Spaniſh Guelder: he began with Venlo. There was a Fort on the other ſide of the River, that commanded it, which was taken by the Lord Cutts, in ſo gallant a manner, that it deſerved to be much commended by every body but himſelf: but he loſt the honour, that was due to many brave Actions of his, by talking too much of them: The young Earl of Huntington ſhewed upon this, as upon many other occaſions, an extraordinary heat of Courage: He called to the Soldiers, who had got over the palliſadoes, to

1702. help him over, and promiſed them all the money he had about him, which he performed very generouſly, and led them on with much bravery and ſucceſs: Upon the Fort's being taken, the Town capitulated. Ruremonde and Stevenzwert were taken in a few days after; for Mareſchal Bouflers did not come to their relief. Upon theſe Succeſſes, that came quicker than was expected, the Earl of Marlborough advanced to Liege, which was a place of more importance, in which he might put a great part of his Army in Winter Quarters: The Town quickly capitulated; the Cittadel was carried by ſtorm, and another Fort in the Town likewiſe ſurrender'd. Here was a very proſperous Campaign: many places were taken with little reſiſtance, and an inconſiderable loſs, either of time or of men. The Earl of Marlborough's conduct and deportment gained him the hearts of the Army: The States were highly ſatisfied with every thing he did, and the Earl of Athlone did him the juſtice to own, that he had differed in opinion from him in every thing that was done, and that therefore the Honour of their Succeſs was wholly owing to him.

The Earl of Marlborough, taken by a Party of the French, got out of their hands.

The Campaign was kept open till November, and at the end of it, an accident happened, that had almoſt loſt the advantages and honour got in it. The Earl of Marlborough thought the eaſieſt and quickeſt, as well as the ſafeſt way of returning to the Hague, was by ſome of thoſe great Boats, that paſs on the Maeſe: There was one Company in the Boat in which he went, and two Companies went in another, that was to be before him. There were alſo ſome Troops ordered, to ride along the Banks for their Guard. The great Boat that went before, ſailed away too quick, and the Horſe miſtook their way in the night: The French had yet the Town of Guelder in their hands,

which was indeed all they had of the Spaniſh Guelder: A Party from thence was lying on the Banks of the River, waiting for an Adventure, and they ſeized this Boat, the whole Company being faſt aſleep: ſo they had now both the Earl of Marlborough and Opdam, one of the Dutch Generals, and Gueldermalſen, one of the States Deputies in their hands: They did not know the Earl of Marlborough, but they knew the other two. They both had Paſſes, according to a Civility, uſually practiſed among the Generals of both ſides. The Earl of Marlborough's Brother had a Paſs, but his ill health made him leave the Compaign, ſo his Paſs was left with his Brother's Secretary, and that was now made uſe of for himſelf. 'Tis true, the Date of the Paſs was out, but they being in haſte, and in the night, that was not conſidered: The Boat was rifled, and they took Preſents from thoſe, who they believed were protected by their Paſſes: So, after a ſtop of ſome hours, they were let go, and happily eſcaped the danger. The news of their being taken got before them to the Hague; upon which the States immediately met, under no ſmall conſternation: They ſent Orders to all their Forces, to march immediately to Guelder, and to threaten the Garriſon with all extremities, unleſs they ſhould deliver the Priſoners: and never to leave the Place, till they had either taken it, or had the Generals delivered to them. But before theſe Orders could be diſpatched, the Earl of Marlborough came to the Hague, where he was received with inexpreſſible joy, not only by the States, but by all the Inhabitants: for he was beloved there to a high degree. Soon after his return to England, the Queen made him Duke of Marlborough; and both Houſes of Parliament ſent ſome of their number to him, with their Thanks for the great ſervices he had done this Campaign. 1702.

1702. The Campaign likewiſe ended happily on the Upper Rhine: Landaw was taken after a long Siege: The King of the Romans came in time to have the honour of taking it: But with ſo great a train, and ſo ſplendid an equipage, that the expence of it put all the Emperor's Affairs in great diſorder; the moſt neceſſary things being neglected, while a needleſs piece of Pomp devoured ſo great a part of their Treaſure. The Siege was ſtopt ſome weeks for want of Ammunition, but in concluſion, the place was taken.

Landaw was taken.

The neceſſities of the King of France's Affairs, forced him at this time to grant the Elector of Bavaria all his demands: It is not yet known what they were: But the Court of France did not agree to what he aſked, till Landaw was given for loſt; and then ſeeing that the Prince of Baden might have over-run all the Hondruck, and carried his Winter Quarters into the neighbourhood of France; it was neceſſary to gain this Elector on any terms: If this agreement had been ſooner made, probably the Siege, how far ſoever it was advanced, muſt have been raiſed. The Elector made his Declaration, when he poſſeſſed himſelf of Ulm, which was a rich free Town of the Empire: It was taken by a ſtratagem, that, how ſucceſsful ſoever it proved to the Elector, was fatal to him who conducted it; for he was killed by an accident, after he was poſſeſſed of the Town. This gave a great alarm to the neighbouring Circles and Princes, who called away their Troops from the Prince of Baden, to their own defence; by this means, his Army was much diminiſhed; but with the Troops that were left him, he ſtudied to cut off the Communication between Strazbourg and Ulm. The Emperor with the Diet proceeded according to their forms againſt the Elector: But he was now engaged, and continued firm to the Intereſts of France. Mareſchal Villars, who commanded the French Army in Alſatia, had Or-

The Elector of Bavaria declares for France.

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ders to break thro' the Black Foreſt, and join the Bavarians: His Army was much ſuperior to the Prince of Baden; but the latter had ſo poſted himſelf, that after an unſucceſsful attempt, Villars was forced to return to Strazbourg. 1702.

In Italy, the Duke of Vendome began with the Relief of Mantua, which was reduced to great extremities, by the long Blockade Prince Eugene had kept about it: He had ſo fortified the Oglio, that the Duke of Vendome apprehending the difficulty of forcing his Poſts, marched thro' the Venetian Territories (notwithſtanding the proteſtations of the Republick againſt it) and came to Goito, with a great Convoy for Mantua. Prince Eugene drew his Army all along the Mantuan Foſſa, down to Borgofortes; he was forced to abandon a great many places, but apprehending that Berſello might be beſieged, and conſidering the importance of that place, he put a ſtrong Garriſon in it. He complained much, that the Court of Vienna ſeemed to forget him; and did not ſend him the Reinforcements they had promiſed: It was thought, that his Enemies at that Court, under colour of ſupporting the King of the Romans in his firſt Campaign, were willing to neglect every thing that related to him; by this means, the beſt Army the Emperor ever had, was left to moulder away to nothing. The War in Italy.

King Philip took a very extraordinary reſolution of going over to Italy, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom of Naples, and to put an end to the War in Lombardy; he was received at Naples with outward ſplendor, but he made little progreſs, in quieting the minds of that unruly Kingdom: He did not obtain the Inveſtiture of it from the Pope, tho' he ſent him a Cardinal Legate, with a high Complement: The Germans thought this was too much, while the French thought it was not enough; yet upon it, the Emperor's Ambaſſador left Rome. King Philip was King Philip went to Italy.

1702. conducted from Naples to Final by the French Fleet, that had carried him from Barcelona to Naples. As he was going to command the Duke of Vendome's Army, he was met by the Duke of Savoy, of whom there was ſome jealouſy, that, having married his two Daughters ſo greatly, he began now to diſcern his own diſtinct intereſt, which called upon him to hinder the French from being Maſters of the Milaneze. King Philip wrote to the Duke of Vendome, not to fight Prince Eugene, till he could join him: He ſeemed jealous, leſt that Prince ſhould be driven out of Italy, before he could come to ſhare in the Honour of it; yet when he came, he could do nothing, though Prince Eugene was miſerably abandoned by the Court of Vienna. Count Mansfield, Preſident of the Council of War, was much ſuſpected, as corrupted by France: The Supplies promiſed, were not ſent into Italy: The apprehenſions they were under of the Elector of Bavaria's declaring, ſome time before he did it, gave a colour to thoſe, who were jealous of Prince Eugene's Glory, to detain the Recruits and Troops that had been promiſed him, for the Emperor's own defence: But tho' he was thus forſaken, yet he managed the Force he had about him, with great ſkill and conduct. When he ſaw Luzara was in danger, he marched up to the King of Spain; and as that King very oddly expreſſed it, in a Letter to the King of France, he had the boldneſs (Audace) to attack him, but which was worſe, he had the boldneſs likewiſe to beat him; and if he had not been ſhut in by Rivers, and the narrowneſs of the Ground, very probably he would have carried the advantage, he had in that engagement, much further. The ill ſtate of his Affairs forced him upon that deſperate action, in which he ſucceeded beyond expectation: It put the French to ſuch a ſtand, that all they could do after this, was only to take Luzara, and ſome other incon-

inconſiderable places; but Prince Eugene ſtill kept his Poſts. King Philip left the Army, and returned, after an inglorious Campaign, into Spain; where the Grandees were much diſguſted, to ſee themſelves ſo much deſpiſed, and their Affairs wholly conducted by French Councils. The French tried, by all poſſible methods, to engage the Turks in a new War with the Emperor; and it was believed that the Grand Vizier was entirely gained, tho' the Mufti, and all who had any credit in that Court, were againſt it: The Grand Vizier was ſtrangled, and ſo this deſign was prevented. 1702.

Affairs in Poland.

The Court of France was in a management with the Cardinal Primate of Poland, to keep that Kingdom ſtill embroiled: The King of Sweden marched on to Cracow, which was much cenſured, as a deſperate attempt, ſince a defeat there muſt have deſtroyed him and his Army entirely, being ſo far from home. He attackt the King of Poland, and gave him ſuch an Overthrow, that tho' the Army got off, he carried both their Camp and Artillery. He poſſeſſed himſelf of Cracow, where he ſtay'd ſome Months, till he had raiſed all the money they could produce; and tho' the Muſcovites with the Lithuanians deſtroyed Livonia, and broke into Sweden, yet that could not call him back. The Duke of Holſtein, who had married his eldeſt Siſter, was thought to be gained by the French, to puſh on this young King, to proſecute the War with ſuch an unrelenting fury, in which he might have a deſign for himſelf, ſince the King of Sweden's venturing his own perſon ſo freely, might make way for his Dutcheſs to ſucceed to the Crown. That Duke was killed in the battle of Cracow. There was ſome hopes of Peace this Winter, but the two Princes were ſo exaſperated againſt one another, that it ſeemed impoſſible to compoſe that animoſity: This was very unacceptable to the Allies; for both Kings

1702. were well inclined to ſupport the Confederacy, and to engage in the War againſt France, if their own Quarrels could have been made up. The King of Sweden continued ſtill ſo virtuous and pious in his whole deportment, that he ſeemed formed, to be one of the Heroes of the Reformation. This was the ſtate of Affairs on the Continent, during this Campaign.

An Inſurrection in the Cevennes.

One unlooked for accident ſprung up in France: An Inſurrection happened in the Cevennes in Languedoc; of which I can ſay nothing that is very particular, or well aſſured. When it firſt broke out, it was looked on as the effect of Oppreſſion and Deſpair, which would quickly end in a ſcene of Blood; but it had a much longer continuance than was expected; and it had a conſiderable effect on the Affairs of France; for an Army of ten or twelve thouſand men, who were deſigned, either for Italy or Spain, was imployed, without any immediate ſucceſs in reducing them.

The Engliſh Fleet ſent to Cadiz.

I now change the Element, to give an account of our operations at Sea: Rook had the Command: The Fleet put to Sea much later than we hoped for: The Dutch Fleet came over, about a month before ours was ready: The whole conſiſted of fifty Ships of the Line, and a Land Army was put on board, of twelve thouſand men, ſeven thouſand Engliſh and five thouſand Dutch: Rook ſpoke ſo coldly of the Deſign he went upon, before he ſailed, that thoſe who converſed with him, were apt to infer, that he intended to do the Enemy as little harm as poſſible. Advice was ſent over from Holland, of a Fleet that ſailed from France, and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. Munden was recommended by Rook, to be ſent againſt this Fleet; but tho' he came up to them, with a ſuperior Force, yet he behaved himſelf ſo ill, and ſo unſucceſsfully, that a Council of War was ordered to ſit on him: They indeed

indeed acquitted him, ſome excuſing themſelves, by ſaying that if they had condemned him, the puniſhment was Death; whereas they thought his errors flowed from a want of ſenſe; ſo that it would have been hard to condemn him, for a defect in that, which Nature had not given him. Thoſe who recommended him to the Imployment, ſeemed to be more in fault. This acquittal raiſed ſuch an outcry, that the Queen ordered him to be broke. Rook, to divert the deſign that he himſelf was to go up on, wrote up from St. Helen's, that the Dutch Fleet was victualled only to the middle of September: So they, being then in July, no great deſign could be undertaken, when ſo large a part of the Fleet was ſo ill provided. When the Dutch Admiral heard of this, he ſent to their Ambaſſador, to complain to the Queen of this miſinformation; for he was victualled till the middle of December. They were for ſome time ſtopt by contrary Winds, accidents and pretences, many of which were thought to be ſtrained and ſought for; but the Wind being turned wholly favourable, after ſome croſs Winds, which had render'd their paſſage ſlow and tedious, they came on the 12th of Auguſt, into the Bay of Cadiz. Rook had laid no diſpoſition before hand, how to proceed upon his coming thither: Some days were loſt on pretence of ſeeking for intelligence: It is certain, our Court had falſe accounts of the ſtate the place was in, both with relation to the Garriſon and the Fortifications: The Garriſon was much ſtronger, and the Fortifications were in a better condition, than was repreſented. The French Men of War, and the Gallies that lay in the Bay, retired within the Puntals. In the firſt ſurprize, it had been eaſy to have followed them, and to have taken or burnt them; which Fairborn offered to execute, but Rook and the reſt of his creatures did not approve of this. Some days were loſt, before a Council of War 1702.

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1702. was called: In the mean while, the Duke of Ormond ſent ſome Engineers and Pilots to ſound the South-ſide of Cadiz, near the Iſland of St. Pedro; but while this was doing, the Officers, by the taking of ſome Boats, came to know, that thoſe of Cadiz had ſent over the beſt of their Goods and other Effects to the Port of St. Maries, an open Village over againſt it, on the Continent of Spain; ſo that here was good plunder to be had eaſily, whereas the Landing on the Iſle of Cadiz was like to prove dangerous, and, as ſome made them believe, impracticable. In the Council of War, in which their Inſtructions were read, it was propoſed to conſider, how they ſhould put them in execution: O'Haro, one of the General Officers, made a long Speech againſt Landing: He ſhewed how deſperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the ſtate of the place, from the repreſentation made of it in England: The greater number agreed with him, and all that the Duke of Ormond could ſay to the contrary was of no effect. Rook ſeemed to be of the ſame mind with the Duke, but all his Dependents were of another opinion, ſo this was thought to be a piece of craft in him: In concluſion, the Council of War came to a reſolution, not to make a Deſcent on the Iſland of Cadiz: But before they broke up, thoſe, whom the Duke had ſent to ſound the Landing places on the South-ſide, came and told them, that as they might land ſafely, ſo the Ships might ride ſecurely on that ſide; yet they had no regard to this, but adhered to their former reſolution, nor were there any Orders given for bombarding the Town. The Sea was for the moſt part very high while they lay there, but it was ſo calm for one day, that the Engineers believed they could have done much miſchief; but they had no Orders for it: And indeed it appeared very evidently, that they intended to do nothing but rob St. Maries.

A Land-

A Landing on the Continent was resolved on; and tho' the Sea was high, and the danger great, yet the hope of spoil made them venture on it; they landed at Rota; a Party of Spanish Horse seemed to threaten some resistance, but they retired, and so our men came to St. Maries, which they found deserted, but full of riches: Both Officers and Soldiers set themselves, with great courage, against this tempting but harmless enemy: Some of the General Officers set a very ill example to all the rest, chiefly O'Haro and Bellasis. The Duke of Ormond tried to hinder it, but did not exert his authority; for if he had made some examples at first, he might have prevented the mischief that was done: But the whole Army, running so violently on the Spoil, he either was not able, or, thro' a gentleness of temper, was not willing to proceed to extremities. He had published a Manifesto, according to his Instructions, by which the Spaniards were invited to submit to the Emperor; and he offered his Protection to all that came in to him: But the Spoil of St. Maries was thought an ill Commentary on that Text. After some days of unfruitful Trials, on the Forts of that side, it appeared that nothing could be done; so about the middle of September, they all embarked. Some of the Ships Crews were so imployed, in bringing and bestowing the Plunder, that they took not the necessary care to furnish themselves with fresh Water. Rook, without prosecuting his other instructions, in case the design on Cadiz miscarried, gave Orders only for a Squadron to sail to the West-Indies, with some Land Forces; and tho' he had a Fleet of Victuallers, that had Provisions to the middle of December, he ordered them to sail home; by this means, the Men of War were so scantily furnished, that they were soon forced to be put on short allowance. Nor did Rook send Advice Boats, either to the Ports of Algarve, or

1702. They landed and robbed St. Maries.

1702. or to Liſbon, to ſee what Orders or Advices might be lying for him, but ſailed in a direct courſe for England: But ſome Ships, not being provided with Water for the Voyage to England, touched on the Coaſt of Algarve, to take in Water.

The Galleons put in at Vigo.

They met with intelligence there, that the Spaniſh Plate Fleet, with a good Convoy of French Men of War, had put in at Vigo, a Port in Galicia, not far from Portugal; where the entrance was narrow, and capable of a good defence. It widened within Land, into a Bay or Mouth of a River, where the Ships lay very conveniently: He who commanded the French Fleet, ordered a Boom to be laid croſs the entrance, and Forts to be raiſed on both ſides: He had not time to finiſh what he deſigned, otherwiſe the place had been inacceſſible: But as it was, the difficulty in forcing this Port was believed to be greater, than any they would have met with, if they had landed on the Iſle of Cadiz. As ſoon as this Fleet had put in at Vigo, Methuen, the Queen's Miniſter at Liſbon, ſent Advertiſements of it, to all the places, where he thought our Advice-Boats might be ordered to call: Rook had given no Orders for any to call, and ſo held on his courſe towards Cape Finiſterre: But one of his Captains, Hardy, whilſt he water'd in Algarve, heard the news there; upon which, he made all the Sail he could after Rook, and overtook him. Rook upon that, turned his courſe towards Vigo, very unwillingly as was ſaid, and finding the Advice was true, he reſolved to force his way in.

But they were burnt or taken by the Engliſh.

The Duke of Ormond landed with a Body of the Army, and attack'd the Forts with great bravery, while the Ships broke the Boom, and forced the Port. When the French ſaw what was done, they left their Ships, and ſet ſome of the Men of War, and ſome of the Galleons on fire: Our Men came up with ſuch diligence, that they ſtopt the progreſs of the fire, yet fifteen Men of War and eight

eight Galleons were burnt or ſunk; but our Men were in time to ſave five Men of War, and five Galleons, which they took. Here was a great deſtruction made, and a great Booty taken, with very little loſs on our ſide. One of our Ships was ſet on fire by a Fire-Ship, but ſhe too was ſaved, tho' with the loſs of ſome Men; which was all the loſs we ſuſtained in this important Action. The Duke of Ormond marched into the Country, and took ſome Forts, and the Town of Ritondella, where much Plunder was found: The French Seamen and Soldiers eſcaped, for we having no Horſe, were not in a condition to purſue them: The Spaniards appeared, at ſome diſtance, in a great Body: But they did not offer to enter into any Action with the Duke of Ormond: It appeared, that the reſentments of that proud Nation, which was now governed by French Councils, were ſo high, that they would not put themſelves in any danger, or to any trouble, even to ſave their own Fleet, when it was in ſuch hands. 1702.

After this great Succeſs, it came under conſultation, whether it was not adviſable to leave a good Squadron of Ships, with the Land Forces, to Winter at Vigo: The Neighbourhood of Portugal made, that they could be well furniſhed with Proviſions, and all other neceſſaries from thence: This might alſo encourage that King to declare himſelf, when there was ſuch a Force and Fleet lying ſo near him: It might likewiſe encourage ſuch of the Spaniards, as favoured the Emperor, to declare themſelves, when they ſaw a ſafe place of retreat, and a Force to protect them: The Duke of Ormond, upon theſe conſiderations, offered to ſtay, if Rook would have conſented; but he excuſed it; he had ſent home the Victuallers with the Stores; and ſo he could not ſpare what was neceſſary, for ſuch as would ſtay there: and indeed he had ſo ordered the matter, that he could

1702. not ſtay long enough to try, whether they could raiſe and ſearch the Men of War and the Galleons that were ſunk: He was obliged to make all poſſible haſte home; and if the Wind had turned to the Eaſt, which was ordinary in that Seaſon, a great part of our Ships Crews muſt have died of hunger.

The Engliſh Fleet came back to England.

The Wind continued favourable, ſo they got home ſafe, but half ſtarved. Thus ended this Expedition, which was ill projected, and worſe executed. The Duke of Ormond told me, he had not half the Ammunition that was neceſſary, for the taking Cadiz, if they had defended themſelves well: tho' he believed they would not have made any great reſiſtance, if he had landed on his firſt arrival, and not given them time to recover from the diſorder, into which the firſt ſurprize had put them. A great deal of the Treaſure taken at Vigo was embezzled, and fell into private hands: One of the Galleons founder'd at Sea. The Publick was not much enriched by this extraordinary Capture, yet the loſs our enemies made by it was a vaſt one; and to compleat the ruin of the Spaniſh Merchants, their King ſeized on the Plate, that was taken out of the Ships, upon their firſt arrival at Vigo. Thus the Campaign ended; very happily for the Allies, and moſt gloriouſly for the Queen, whoſe firſt year, being ſuch a continued courſe of Succeſs, gave a hopeful preſage of what might be hereafter expected.

A new Parliament.

The Seſſion of Parliament comes next to be related: The Queen did not openly interpoſe in the Elections, but her inclination to the Tories appearing plainly, all People took it for granted, that ſhe wiſhed they might be the Majority: This wrought on the inconſtancy, and ſervility, that is natural to multitudes: and the conceit, which had been infuſed and propagated with much Induſtry, that the Whigs had charged the Nation with great Taxes, of which a large ſhare had been devoured by

by themſelves, had ſo far turned the tide, that the Tories in the Houſe of Commons were at leaſt double the number of the Whigs. They met full of fury againſt the Memory of the late King, and againſt thoſe who had been imployed by him. The firſt inſtance wherein this appeared, was in their Addreſs to the Queen, congratulating her great Succeſſes; they added, that by her wiſe and happy Conduct, the Honour of the Kingdom was "Retrieved." The word "Retrieved" implying that it was formerly loſt, all that had a juſt regard to the King's Memory oppoſed it: He had carried the Honour of the Nation further, than had been done in any Reign before his: To him they owed their preſervation, their ſafety, and even the Queen's being on the Throne: He had deſigned and formed that great Confederacy, at the head of which ſhe was now ſet. In oppoſition to this, it was now ſaid, that during his Reign, things had been conducted by Strangers, and truſted to them; and that a vaſt Treaſure had been ſpent in unprofitable Campaigns in Flanders. The Partition Treaty, and every thing elſe, with which the former Reign could be loaded, was brought into the account, and the keeping the word "Retrieved," in the Addreſs, was carried by a great Majority: All that had favour at Court, or hoped for any, going into it. Controverted Elections were judged in favour of Tories, with ſuch a bare-faced partiality, that it ſhewed the Party was reſolved on every thing that might ſerve their ends. 1702.

Great partiality in judging Elections.

Of this I ſhall only give two Inſtances: The one was of the Borough of Hindon, near me at Saliſbury, where upon a complaint of Bribery, the proof was ſo full and clear, that they ordered a Bill to disfranchize the Town for that Bribery, and yet, becauſe the Bribes were given by a man of their Party, they would not paſs a Vote on him as guilty of it: So that a Borough was voted, to loſe its Right of electing, becauſe many in it were guilty

1702. guilty of a Corruption, in which no man appeared to be the Actor. The other was of more importance; and becauſe it may be ſet up for a Precedent, I will be more particular in the Report: Mr. John How had been Vice-Chamberlain to the late Queen, but miſſing ſome of thoſe advantages, that he had propoſed to himſelf, he had gone into the higheſt oppoſition that was made in the Houſe of Commons to the Court, during the laſt Reign: not without many indecent reflections on the perſon of the late King; and a moſt virulent attacking of all his Miniſters. He was a man of ſome wit, but of little judgment, and of ſmall principles of Religion: He ſtood Knight of the Shire for Gloceſterſhire; and had drawn a Party in that County to join with him in an Addreſs to the Queen, in which, reflections were made on the danger and ill uſage ſhe had gone thro' in the former Reign. This Addreſs was received by the Queen, in ſo particular a manner, that it looked like the owning that the Contents of it were true; but ſhe made ſuch an excuſe for this, when the offence it gave was laid before her, that probably ſhe was not acquainted with the matter of the Addreſs, when ſhe ſo received it. Upon this, great oppoſition was made to his Election. When it came to the Poll, it appeared, he had loſt it: So the Sheriff was moved for a Scrutiny, to examine, whether all thoſe who had ſworn that they were Freeholders of forty Shillings a year, had ſworn true. By the Act of Parliament, the matter was referred to the Parties Oath, and their ſwearing falſe was declared Perjury: Therefore ſuch, as had ſworn falſly, were liable to a Proſecution; but by all Laws, an Oath is looked upon as an end of Controverſy, till he who ſwore is convict of Perjury: and the Sheriff, being an Officer named by the Court, if he had a power to review the Poll, this put the Election of Counties wholly in the power of the Crown: yet upon this occaſion, the heat

heat of a Party prevailed so far, that they voted How duly elected. 1702.

All the Supply agreed to.

The House of Commons very unanimously, and with great dispatch, agreed to all the demands of the Court, and voted all the Supplies that were necessary for carrying on the War. Upon the Duke of Marlborough's coming over, a new demand for an additional Force was made, since the King of France had given out Commissions, for a great increase of his Armies: Upon that, the States moved the Queen, for ten thousand more men: This was consented to, but with a condition, which how reasonable soever it might be in itself, yet the manner in which it was managed, shewed a very ill disposition towards the Dutch; and in the Debate, they were treated very indecently. It was insisted on, that before the Pay of these new Troops should begin, the States should prohibit all Trade with France, and break off all Correspondence with that Kingdom. It was indeed true, that France could not have supplied their Armies in Italy, but by the means of this secret Trade; so it was reasonable to break it; but the imposing it on the Dutch, in the manner in which this was pressed, carried in it too high a strain of authority over them. Theirs is a Country, that subsists not by any intrinsick Wealth of their own, but by their Trade; some seemed to hope, that the opposition, which would be raised on this head, might force a Peace, at which many among us were driving so indecently, that they took little care to conceal it. The States resolved to comply with England in every thing; and tho' they did not like the manner of demanding this, yet they readily consented to it. The ordinary business of a Session of Parliament was soon dispatched, no opposition being made to the Supply, at which, in the former Reign, things stuck longest.

1702. When thoſe matters were ſettled, a Bill was brought in by the Tories, againſt Occaſional Conformity, which produced great and long Debates: By this Bill, all thoſe who took the Sacrament and Teſt (which by the Act paſſed in the year 1673, was made neceſſary to thoſe, who held Offices of Truſt, or were Magiſtrates in Corporations, but was only to be taken once by them) and did after that, go to the Meetings of Diſſenters, or any Meeting for Religious Worſhip, that was not according to the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England, where five perſons were preſent, more than the Family, were diſabled from holding their Imployments, and were to be fined in an hundred pounds, and in five pounds a day for every day, in which they continued to act in their Imployments, after their having been at any ſuch Meeting: They were alſo made incapable to hold any other Imployment, till after one whole year's Conformity to the Church, which was to be proved at the Quarter Seſſion: Upon a relapſe, the Penalty and the time of incapacity were doubled: no limitation of time was put in the Bill, nor of the way in which the Offence was to be proved: But whereas, the Act of the Teſt only included the Magiſtrates in Corporations, all the inferior Officers or Freemen in Corporations, who were found to have ſome intereſt in the Elections, were now comprehended within this Bill. The Preamble of the Bill aſſerted the Toleration, and condemned all Perſecution for Conſcience ſake, in a high ſtrain: Some thought the Bill was of no conſequence, and that, if it ſhould paſs into a Law, it would be of no effect; but that the Occaſional Conformiſts would become conſtant ones. Others thought, that this was ſuch a breaking in upon the Toleration, as would undermine it, and that it would have a great effect on Corporations; as indeed, the intent

A Bill againſt occaſional Conformity.

of

of it was believed to be, the modelling Elections, and by consequence of the House of Commons. 1702.

Great Debates about it.

On behalf of the Bill, it was said, the design of the Test Act was, that all in Office should continue in the Communion of the Church: that coming only once to the Sacrament for an Office, and going afterwards to the Meetings of Dissenters, was both an eluding the intent of the Law, and a profanation of the Sacrament, which gave great scandal, and was abhorred by the better sort of Dissenters. Those who were against the Bill, said, the Nation had been quiet ever since the Toleration, the Dissenters had lost more ground and strength by it, than the Church: The Nation was now engaged in a great War; it seemed therefore unseasonable, to raise animosities at home, in matters of Religion, at such a time; and to encourage a tribe of Informers, who were the worst sort of men: The Fines were excessive; higher than any laid on Papists by Law; and since no limitation of Time, nor concurrence of Witnesses, was provided for in the Bill, men would be for ever exposed to the malice of a bold Swearer, or wicked Servant: It was moved, that since the greatest danger of all was from Atheists and Papists, that all such as received the Sacrament for an Office, should be obliged to receive it three times a year, which all were by Law required to do; and to keep to their Parish Church, at least one Sunday a Month; but this was not admitted. All, who pleaded for the Bill, did in words declare for the continuance of the Toleration, yet the sharpness with which they treated the Dissenters in all their Speeches, shewed as if they designed their extirpation. The Bill was carried in the House of Commons, by a great Majority. The Debates held longer in the House of Lords: Many were against it, because of the high Penalties: Some remember'd the Practice of Informers, in the end of King Charles's Reign,

1702. and would not consent to the reviving such infamous methods: All believed that the chief design of this Bill was, to model Corporations, and to cast out of them all those, who would not vote in Elections for Tories: The Toleration itself was visibly aimed at, and this was only a step to break in upon it. Some thought, the design went yet further, to raise such quarrels and distractions among us, as would so embroil us at home, that our Allies might see, they could not depend upon us; and that we, being weaken'd by the disorders occasioned by those Prosecutions, might be disabled from carrying on the War, which was the chief thing driven at, by the promoters of the Bill. So that many of the Lords, as well as the Bishops, agreed in opposing this Bill, tho' upon different views: yet they consented to some parts of it; chiefly, that such as went to Meetings, after they had received the Sacrament, should be disabled from holding any imployments, and be fined in twenty pounds; many went into this, tho' they were against every part of the Bill, because they thought this the most plausible way of losing it; since the House of Commons had of late set it up for a maxim, that the Lords could not alter the Fines that they should fix in a Bill, this being a meddling with money, which they thought was so peculiar to them, that they would not let the Lords, on any pretence, break in upon it.

The Lords hereupon appointed a very exact search to be made into all the Rolls, that lay in the Clerk of the Parliament's Office, from the middle of King Henry the Seventh's Reign, down to the present time; and they found, by some hundreds of Precedents, that in some Bills the Lords began the Clauses that set the Fines; and that when Fines were set by the Commons, sometimes they altered the Fines, and at other times, they changed the use to which they were applied:

The

The Report made of this was so full and clear, that there was no possibility of replying to it, and the Lords ordered it to be entered in their Books. But the Commons were resolved to maintain their point, without entering into any Debate upon it. The Lords also added Clauses, requiring proof to be made by two Witnesses, and that the Information should be given in within ten days, and the Prosecution commenced within three months after the Fact. The Commons agreed to this, but would not alter the Penalties that they had set. The thing depended long between the Two Houses; both sides took pains to bring up the Lords that would vote with them, so that there were above an hundred and thirty Lords in the House; the greatest number that had ever been together.. 1702.

The Court put their whole strength to carry the Bill. Prince George, who had received the Sacrament, as Lord High Admiral, and yet kept his Chapel in the Lutheran way, so that he was an occasional Communicant, came and voted for the Bill: After some Conferences, wherein each House had yielded some smaller differences to the other, it came to a free Conference in the Painted Chamber, which was the most crouded upon that occasion, that had ever been known; so much weight was laid on this matter on both sides.

When the Lords retired, and it came to the final Vote "of Adhering," the Lords were so equally divided, that in three Questions, put on different heads, the "Adhering" was carried but by one voice in every one of them; and it was a different person that gave it in all the three Divisions. The Commons likewise adhered, so the Bill was lost. This Bill seemed to favour the Interests of the Church, so hot men were for it; and the greater number of the Bishops being against it, they were censured, as cold and slack in the concerns of the Church; a reproach, that

The Two Houses disagreeing, the Bill was lost.

1702. all moderate men must expect, when they oppose violent motions. A great part of this fell on my self: for I bore a large share in the Debates, both in the House of Lords, and at the free Conference. Angry men took occasion from hence, to charge the Bishops as enemies to the Church, and betrayers of its Interests, because we would not run blindfold into the Passions and designs of ill tempered men; tho' we can appeal to all the World, and which is more, to God himself, that we did faithfully and zealously pursue the true Interests of the Church, the promoting Religion and Learning, the encouraging of all good men, and good designs: and that we did apply ourselves to the duties of our Function, and to the work of the Gospel. Having this quiet within ourselves, we must bear the cross, and submit to the will of God: The less of our Reward that we receive from men, we have so much the more to look for from Him.

A Bill for Prince George.

While the Bill, that had raised so much heat, was in agitation, the Queen sent a Message to the Commons, desiring them to make some suitable provision for Prince George, in case he should outlive her. He was many years elder than the Queen, and was troubled with an Asthma, that every year had ill effects on his health; it had brought him into great danger this Winter, yet the Queen thought it became her to provide for all events. How moved, that it should be an hundred thousand pounds a year: This was seconded by those, who knew how acceptable the Motion would be to the Queen; though it was the double of what any Queen in England ever had in Jointure; so it passed without any opposition. But while it was passing, a motion was made upon a Clause in the Act, which limited the Succession to the Hanover Family; which provided against strangers, tho' naturalized, being capable to hold any Imployments among us.

Debates on a Clause that was in it.

This

This plainly related only to thoſe, who ſhould be naturalized in a future Reign, and had no retroſpect to ſuch as were already naturalized, or ſhould be naturalized during the preſent Reign. It was however, propoſed as doubtful, whether when that Family might reign, all who were naturalized before ſhould not be incapacitated by that Clauſe, from ſitting in Parliament, or holding Imployments; and a Clauſe was offered to except the Prince, from being comprehended in that incapacity. Againſt this two Objections lay; One was, that the Lords had reſolved by a Vote, to which the greater number had ſet their hands, that they would never paſs any Money Bill, ſent up to them by the Commons, to which any Clauſe was tacked, that was foreign to the Bill. They had done this, to prevent the Commons from faſtning matters of a different nature to a Money Bill, and then pretending, that the Lords could not meddle with it; for this was a method to alter the Government, and bring it entirely into their own hands: By this means, when money was neceſſary for preſerving the Nation, they might force, not only the Lords, but the Crown, to conſent to every thing they propoſed, by tacking it to a Money Bill. It was ſaid, that a capacity for holding Imployments, and for ſitting in the Houſe of Lords, were things of a different nature from money; ſo that this Clauſe ſeemed to many to be a Tack; whereas others thought it was no Tack, becauſe both parts of the Act related to the ſame perſon. The other objection was, that this Clauſe ſeemed to imply, that perſons already naturalized, and in poſſeſſion of the Rights of natural born Subjects, were to be excluded in the next Reign; tho' all People knew, that no ſuch thing was intended, when the Act of Succeſſion paſſed. Great oppoſition was made, for both theſe reaſons, to the paſſing this Clauſe; but the Queen preſſed it with the greateſt earneſtneſs, ſhe had yet 1702.

1702. ſhewed in any thing whatſoever: She thought it became her, as a good Wife, to have the Act paſſed; in which ſhe might be the more earneſt, becauſe it was not thought adviſeable, to move for an Act that ſhould take Prince George into a Conſortſhip of the Regal Dignity. This matter raiſed a great heat in the Houſe of Lords: Thoſe, who had been advanced by the late King, and were in his Intereſts, did not think it became them to conſent to this, which ſeemed to be a prejudice, or at leaſt a diſgrace to thoſe whom he had raiſed. The Court managed the matter ſo dextrouſly, that the Bill paſſed, and the Queen was highly diſpleaſed with thoſe who had oppoſed it, among whom I had my ſhare. The Clauſe was put in the Bill, by ſome in the Houſe of Commons, only becauſe they believed it would be oppoſed by thoſe, againſt whom they intended to irritate the Queen.

A further ſecurity to the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

Soon after this, the Commons ſent up a Bill, in favour of thoſe, who had not taken the Oath, abjuring the Prince of Wales, by the day that was named; granting them a year longer to conſider of it: for it was ſaid, that the whole Party was now come entirely into the Queen's Intereſts: Tho' on the other hand, it was given out, that Agents were come from France, on deſign to perſuade all perſons to take the Abjuration, that they might become capable of Imployments, and ſo might in time be a Majority in Parliament, and by that means, the Act of Succeſſion, and the Oath impoſed by it, might be repealed. When the Bill, for thus prolonging the time, was brought up to the Lords, a Clauſe was added, qualifying thoſe perſons, who ſhould in the new extent of time take the Oaths, to return to their Benefices or Imployments, unleſs they were already legally filled. When this was agreed, two Clauſes of much greater conſequence were added to the Bill. One was, declaring it High Treaſon to endeavour to defeat the Succeſſion

ceſſion to the Crown, as it was now limited by Law, or to ſet aſide the next Succeſſor: This had a Precedent in the former Reign, ſo it could not be denied now: It ſeemed the more neceſſary, becauſe there was another Perſon, who openly claimed the Crown; ſo that a further ſecurity might well be inſiſted on. This was a great ſurprize to many, who were viſibly uneaſy at the motion, but were not prepared for it, and did not ſee how it could be reſiſted. The other Clauſe was, for ſending the Abjuration to Ireland, and obliging all there (in the ſame manner as in England) to take it: This ſeemed the more reaſonable, conſidering the ſtrength of the Popiſh Intereſt there. Both Clauſes paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, without any oppoſition: but it was apprehended, that the Houſe of Commons would not be ſo eaſy: yet when it was ſent to them, they ſtruggled only againſt the firſt Clauſe, that barred the return of perſons, upon their taking the Oaths, into places that were already filled. The Party tried their ſtrength upon this, and upon their ſucceſs in it, they ſeemed reſolved to diſpute the other Clauſe: but it was carried, tho' only by one voice, to agree with the Lords. When the Clauſe relating to the Succeſſion, was read; Muſgrave try'd if it might not be made a Bill by itſelf, and not put as a Clauſe in another Bill: but he ſaw the Houſe was reſolved to receive both Clauſes, ſo he did not inſiſt on his motion. All people were ſurprized to ſee a Bill, that was begun in favour of the Jacobites, turned ſo terribly upon them; ſince by it, we had a new ſecurity given, both in England and Ireland, for a Proteſtant Succeſſor. 1702.

The Earl of Rocheſter laid down his Imployments

At this time, the Earl of Rocheſter quitted his place of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: He was uneaſy at the preference which the Duke of Marlborough had in the Queen's confidence, and at the Lord Godolphin's being Lord Treaſurer. It was generally

1702. generally believed, he was endeavouring to embroil our Affairs, and that he was laying a train of oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons: The Queen ſent a Meſſage to him, ordering him to make ready to go to Ireland; for it ſeemed very ſtrange, eſpecially in a time of War, that a perſon, in ſo great a Poſt, ſhould not attend upon it; but he, after ſome days adviſing about it, went to the Queen, and deſired to be excuſed from that Imployment: This was readily accepted, and upon that he withdrew from the Councils. It was immediately offered to the Duke of Ormond, and he was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Duke of Ormond, upon his firſt arrival from the expedition to Cadiz, complained very openly of Rook's Conduct, and ſeemed reſolved to carry the matter to a publick accuſation: But the Court found the Party, that prevailed in the Houſe of Commons, determined to juſtify Rook; ſo to comply with this, the Queen made him a Privy Counſellor, and much pains were taken on the Duke of Ormond to ſtifle his reſentments: He was in a great meaſure ſoften'd, yet he had made his complaints to ſo many Lords, that they moved the Houſe to examine both his Inſtructions and the Journals relating to that Expedition. A Committee of the Houſe of Peers ſate long upon the matter: They examined all the Admirals and Land Officers, as well as Rook himſelf, upon the whole progreſs of that Affair. Rook was ſo well ſupported by the Court, and by his Party in the Houſe of Commons, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe all that the Lords could do. Some, who underſtood Sea matters, ſaid, that it appeared from every motion that he made during the Expedition, that he intended to do nothing but amuſe and make a ſhew: They alſo concluded, from the protection that the Miniſtry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to ſhew, how improper a thing a Deſcent on Cadiz was,

Rook's conduct examined and juſtified.

was, and how fatal the Attempt muſt have proved; and in doing this, he arraigned his Inſtructions, and the Deſign he was ſent on, with great boldneſs, and ſhewed little regard to the Miniſters, who took more pains to bring him off, than to juſtify themſelves. The Lords of the Committee prepared a Report, which was hard upon Rook, and laid it before the Houſe; but ſo ſtrong a party was made, to oppoſe every thing that reflected on him, that tho' every particular in the Report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a Vote was carried in his favour, juſtifying his whole Conduct. The great Imployment given to the Duke of Ormond, ſo effectually prevailed on him, that tho' the enquiry was ſet on by his means, and upon his ſuggeſtions, yet he came not to the Houſe, when it was brought to a concluſion: So Rook, being but faintly puſhed by him, and moſt zealouſly ſupported by his party, was juſtified by a Vote, though univerſally condemned by more impartial Judges. The behaviour of the Miniſtry in this matter heightened the jealouſies, with which many were poſſeſſed, for it was inferred, that they were not in earneſt in his whole Expedition; ſince the conduct, being ſo contrary to the inſtructions, their juſtifying the one, was plainly condemning the other. 1702.

The enquiry made into the publick Accounts.

The Report made by the Commiſſioners, appointed to take the publick Accounts, was another buſineſs, that took up much time in this Seſſion, and occaſioned many Debates. They pretended, that they had made great diſcoveries: They began with the Earl of Ranelagh, who had been in great Poſts; and had all the arts that were neceſſary to recommend a man in a Court; who ſtuck at nothing, that could maintain his Intereſt, with thoſe whom he ſerved: He had been Pay-maſter of the Army in King James's time; and being very fit for the Poſt, he had been continued all the laſt

1702. laſt Reign: He had lived high, and ſo it was believed, his appointments could not ſupport ſo great an expence: He had an Account of one and twenty Millions lay upon him. It was given out, that a great deal of the money, lodged in his Office, for the pay of the Army, was diverted to other uſes, diſtributed among Favourites, or given to corrupt Members of Parliament; and that ſome Millions had been ſent over to Holland: It had been often ſaid, that great diſcoveries would be made, whenſoever his Accounts were looked into; and that he, to ſave himſelf, would lay open the ill practices of the former Reign. But now, when all was brought under a ſtrict examination, a few inconſiderable Articles, of ſome hundreds of pounds, was all that could be found to be objected to him; and even to theſe, he gave clear and full Anſwers. At laſt they found, that, upon the breaking of a Regiment, a Sum which he had iſſued out for its pay, had been returned to his Office, the Regiment being broke ſooner, than that pay was exhauſted; and that no entry of this was made in his Accounts. To this he anſwered, that his Officer, who received the money, was within three days after, taken ſo ill of a confirmed Stone, that he never came again to the Office, but died in great miſery; and during thoſe three days, he had not enter'd that Sum in the Books. Lord Ranelagh acknowledged, that he was liable to account for all the money that was received by his Under Officers; but here was no crime or fraud deſigned; yet this was ſo aggravated, that he ſaw his good Poſt was his greateſt guilt: So he quitted that, which was divided into two: One was appointed to be Pay-maſter of the Guards and Garriſons at home; and another, of the Forces that were kept beyond Sea: How had the firſt, as being the more laſting Poſt. With this, all the clamour raiſed againſt the Earl of Ranelagh was

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let fall; yet to make a ſhew of ſeverity, he was expelled the Houſe: But he appeared, upon all this canvaſſing, to be much more innocent, than even his friends had believed him. 1702.

The Clamour that had been long kept up againſt the former Miniſtry, as Devourers of the Publick Treaſure, was of ſuch uſe to the Party, that they reſolved to continue it, by all poſſible methods: So a Committee of the Houſe of Commons prepared a long Addreſs to the Queen, reflecting on the ill management of the Funds, upon which they laid the great Debt of the Nation, and not upon the Deficiencies: This was branched out into many particulars, which were all heavily aggravated. Yet, tho' a great part of the outcry had been formerly made againſt Ruſſel, Treaſurer of the Navy, and his Office, they found not ſo much as a colour to fix a Complaint there: Nor could they charge any thing on the Chancery, the Treaſury, or the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Great Complaints were made of ſome Accounts, that ſtood long out, and they inſiſted on ſome pretended neglects, the old methods of the Exchequer not having been exactly followed; tho' it did not appear, that the Publick ſuffered in any ſort by thoſe failures. They kept up a clamour likewiſe againſt the Commiſſioners of the Prizes, tho' they had paſt their Accounts, as the Law directed; and no objection was made to them. The Addreſs was full of ſevere reflections and ſpiteful inſinuations; and thus it was carried to the Queen, and publiſhed to the Nation, as the ſenſe of the Commons of England. The Clamour againſt the former Reign ſtill kept up.

The Lords, to prevent the ill impreſſions this might make, appointed a Committee, to examine all the obſervations, that the Commiſſioners of Accounts had offered to both Houſes: They ſearched all the Publick Offices, and were amazed to find, that there was not one Article, in all the long It was examined by the Lords, and found to be ill-grounded.

1702. long Addreſs that the Commons had made to the Queen, or in the Obſervations then before them, that was of any importance, but what was falſe in fact. They found the Deficiencies in the former Reign were of two ſorts: the one was of Sums, that the Commons had voted, but for which they had made no ſort of proviſion: The other was, where the Supply that was given came ſhort of the Sum it was eſtimated at: and between theſe two, the Deficiencies amounted to fourteen Millions: This was the root of the great Debt that lay on the Nation. They examined into all the pretended miſmanagement, and found that what the Commons had ſtated ſo invidiouſly was miſtaken. So far had the late King and his Miniſters been, from miſapplying the money that was given for Publick Occaſions, that he applied three Millions to the Publick Service, that by Law was his own Money, of which they made up the account. They alſo found, that ſome ſmall omiſſions, in ſome of the forms of the Exchequer, were of no conſequence, and neither had nor could have any ill effect: and whereas a great clamour was raiſed againſt paſſing of Accounts by Privy Seals, they put an end to that effectually, when it appeared on what ground this was done. By the ancient methods of the Exchequer, every Account was to be carried on, ſo that the new Officer was to begin his Account with the balance of the former Account. Sir Edward Seimour, who had been Treaſurer of the Navy, owed by his laſt account, an hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, and he had received after that an hundred and forty thouſand pounds, for which the Accounts were never made up: Now it was not poſſible for thoſe who came after him, to be liable for his Accounts: Therefore the Treaſurers of the Navy in the laſt Reign, were forced to take out Privy Seals for making up their Accounts: Theſe imported

no more, than that they were to account only for the money that they themſelves had received: for in all other reſpects, their Accounts were to paſs, according to the ordinary methods of the Exchequer. Complaints had been alſo made of the remiſsneſs of the Lords of the Treaſury, or their Officers, appointed to account with the Receivers of Counties, for the Aids that had been given: but when this was examined, it appeared, that this had been done with ſuch exactneſs, that of the ſum of twenty four Millions, for which they had accounted, there was not owing above ſixty thouſand pounds, and that was for the moſt part in Wales; where it was not thought adviſable to uſe too much rigour in raiſing it: and of that ſum, there was not above fourteen thouſand pounds, that was to be reckoned as loſt. The Collectors of the Cuſtoms likewiſe anſwered all the obſervations made on their accounts ſo fully, that the Houſe of Commons was ſatisfied with their Anſwers, and diſmiſſed them, without ſo much as a reprimand. All this was reported to the Houſe of Lords, and they laid it before the Queen in an Addreſs, which was afterwards printed with the Vouchers to every particular: By this means, it was made out to the ſatisfaction of the whole Nation, how falſe thoſe Reports were, which had been ſo induſtriouſly ſpread, and were ſo eaſily believed by the greater part: for the bulk of Mankind will be always apt to think, that Courts and Miniſters ſerve their own ends, and ſtudy to enrich themſelves at the publick coſt. This Examination held long, and was followed with great exactneſs, and had all the effect that could be deſired from it: for it ſilenced that noiſe, which the late King's enemies had raiſed, to aſperſe him and his Miniſters. With this the Seſſion of Parliament ended. In it the Lords had rendered themſelves very conſiderable, and had gained an univerſal Re- 1702.

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1702. putation over the whole Nation: It is true, thoſe who had oppoſed the perſons, that had carried matters before them in this Seſſion, were ſo near them in number, that things of the greateſt conſequence were carried only by one or two voices; therefore as they intended to have a clear Majority in both Houſes, in the next Seſſion, they prevailed with the Queen, ſoon after the Prorogation, to create four new Peers, who had been the violenteſt of the whole Party; Finch, Gower, Granvil, and young Seimour, were made Barons. Great reflections were made upon this Promotion. When ſome ſevere things had been thrown out in the Houſe of Commons upon the oppoſition, that they met with from the Lords, it was inſinuated, that is would be eaſy to find men of Merit and Eſtate to make a clear Majority in that Houſe: This was an open declaration of a deſign, to put every thing in the hands and power of that Party: It was alſo an encroachment on one of the tendereſt points of the Prerogative, to make motions of creating Peers in the Houſe of Commons. Hervey, tho' of the other ſide, was at the ſame time made a Baron, by private favour. Thus the Seſſion of Parliament was brought to a much better concluſion, than could have been reaſonably expected by thoſe, who knew of whom it was conſtituted, and how it had begun. No harm was done in it: The Succeſſion was fortified by a new ſecurity, and the popular clamours of Corruption and Peculate, with which the Nation had been ſo much poſſeſſed, were in a great meaſure diſſipated.

Some new Peers made.

The Proceedings of the Convocation, which ſate at the ſame time, are next to be related: At the firſt opening of it, there was a Conteſt between the Two Houſes, that laſted ſome days, concerning an Addreſs to the Queen. The Lower Houſe intended to caſt ſome reflections on the former Reign,

The Proceedings in Convocation.

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in imitation of what the Houſe of Commons had done, and theſe were worded ſo invidiouſly, that moſt of the Biſhops were pointed at by them; but the Upper Houſe, refuſing to concur, the Lower Houſe receded, and ſo they both agreed in a very decent Addreſs. The Queen received it graciouſly, promiſing all favour and protection to the Church, and exhorting them all to Peace and Union among themſelves. After this, the Lower Houſe made an Addreſs to the Biſhops, that they might find an expedient, for putting an end to thoſe Diſputes, that had ſtopt the Proceedings of former Convocations: The Biſhops reſolved to offer them all that they could, without giving up their Character and Authority: So they made a Propoſition, that, in the intervals of Seſſions, the Lower Houſe might appoint Committees to prepare Matters, and when buſineſs was brought regularly before them, that the Archbiſhop ſhould ſo order the Prorogations, that they might have convenient and ſufficient time, to ſit and deliberate about it. This fully ſatisfied many of that Body: But the Majority thought, this kept the matter ſtill in the Archbiſhop's Power, as it was indeed intended it ſhould: So they made another application to the Biſhops, deſiring them to refer the points in queſtion to the Queen's deciſion, and to ſuch as ſhe ſhould appoint to hear and ſettle them. To this the Biſhops anſwered, that they reckoned themſelves ſafe and happy in the Queen's Protection, and would pay all due ſubmiſſion to her Pleaſure and Orders: But the Rights, which the Conſtitution of the Church and the Law had veſted in them, were Truſts lodged with them, which they were to convey to their Succeſſors, as they had received them from their Predeceſſors, and that it was not in their power to refer them. It would have been a ſtrange ſight, very acceptable to the enemies of the Church, chiefly to Papiſts, to ſee the Two Houſes of Con- 1702.

1702. vocation, pleading their Authority and Rights before a Committee of Council, that was to determine the matter. This failing, the Lower Houſe tried what they could obtain of the Houſe of Commons; but they could not be carried further than a general Vote, which amounted to nothing, that they would ſtand by them in all their juſt Rights and Privileges. They next made a ſeparate Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her Protection, praying her to hear and determine the Diſpute: She received this favourably; ſhe ſaid, ſhe would conſider of it, and ſend them Her anſwer. The matter was now brought into the hands of the Miniſters: The Earl of Nottingham was of their ſide, but confeſſed that he underſtood not the Controverſy: The Judges and the Queen's Council were ordered to examine, how the matter ſtood in point of Law, which was thus ſtated to them: The conſtant practice, as far as we had Books or Records, was, that the Archbiſhop prorogued the Convocation by a Schedule; of this the Form was ſo fixed, that it could not be altered but by Act of Parliament: There was a Clauſe in the Schedule, that continued all matters before the Convocation, in the ſtate in which they then were, to the day, to which He prorogued them; this made it evident, that there could be no intermediate Seſſion, for a Seſſion of the Lower Houſe could, by paſſing a Vote in any matter, alter the ſtate in which it was. It was kept a ſecret, what opinion the Lawyers came to, in this matter. It was not doubted, but they were againſt the pretenſions of the Lower Houſe: The Queen made no Anſwer to their Addreſs; and it was believed, that the reaſon of this was, becauſe the Anſwer muſt, according to the opinion of Lawyers, have been contrary to what they expected: and therefore the Miniſters choſe rather, to give no Anſwer, and that it ſhould ſeem to be forgot, than that

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ſuch an one ſhould be given, as would put an end to the Debate, which they intended to cheriſh and ſupport. 1702.

The Lower Houſe finding, that by oppoſing their Biſhops in ſo rough as well as in ſo unheard of a manner, they were repreſented as favourers of Preſbytery; to clear themſelves of that imputation, came ſuddenly into a concluſion, that Epiſcopacy was of Divine and Apoſtolical Right. The Party that ſtuck together in their Votes, and kept their intermediate Seſſions ſigned this, and brought it up to the Biſhops, deſiring them to concur in ſettling the matter; ſo that it might be the ſtanding Rule of the Church. This was a plain attempt to make a Canon or Conſtitution, without obtaining a Royal Licence, which by the Statute confirming the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy in King Henry the Eighth's time, made both them, and all who choſe them, incur a Premunire; So the Biſhops reſolved not to entertain the Propoſition, and a great many of the Lower Houſe apprehending what the conſequence of ſuch proceedings might be, by a Petition to the Biſhops, prayed that it might be entered in their Books, that they had not concurred in that Definition, nor in the Addreſs made purſuant to it. The Lower Houſe looked on what they did in this matter, as a Maſter-piece: for if the Biſhops concurred with them, they reckoned they gained their point: and if they refuſed it, they reſolved to make them, who would not come up to ſuch a poſitive Definition, paſs for ſecret favourers of Preſbytery. But the Biſhops ſaw into their deſigns, and ſent them for Anſwer, That they acquieſced in the Declaration, that was already made on that head, in the Preface to the Book of Ordinations; and that they did not think it ſafe, either for them or for the Clergy, to go further in that matter, without a Royal Licence. To this, a dark Anſwer was

1702. made, and so all these matters were at a full stand, when the Session came to an end, by the Prorogation of the Parliament; which was become necessary, the Two Houses being fixed in an opposition to one another.

Great distractions among the Clergy

From those Disputes in Convocation, Divisions ran thro' the whole Body of the Clergy, and to fix these, new names were found out; they were distinguished by the names of HIGH CHURCH and LOW CHURCH. All that treated the Dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their Cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the Prince of Wales, and for the Revolution; that wished well to the present War, and to the Alliance against France, were represented as secret favourers of Presbytery, and as ill affected to the Church, and were called "Low Churchmen:" it was said, that they were in the Church only, while the Law and Preferments were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up, as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves: With these false and invidious Characters did the High Party endeavour to load all those, who could not be brought into their measures and designs. When the Session was at an end, the Court was wholly take up with the preparations for the Campaign.

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.